Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-024
Wednesday
5 February 1992

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-024 *5 February 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Military Responds to Disarmament Initiatives *[TASS]* 1
Army Paper Assesses Arms Cuts *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 31 Jan]* 1
CIA, DIA Directors on CIS Defense Collapse *[PRAVDA 30 Jan]* 2
Cheney Cited on New Defense Priorities *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 31 Jan]* 2
Arms Experts on 'Cracked' Nuclear Shield *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 3
'Alarming' Conditions of Power Stations Cited *[IZVESTIYA 3 Feb]* 4
'Mass Exodus' of Nuclear Scientists Viewed *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 9 Feb]* 5
Ukrainian Research Scientists Affected *[Moscow TV]* 6
Kazakh Brain Drain Issue Addressed *[POSTFACTUM]* 6
Baykonyr Launch Possible START Violation *[TASS]* 6
Nuclear Research Institutes Reorganized *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 23 Jan]* 7
Power Seen As 'Stabilizing Factor' *[TASS]* 7
Commentary Notes SDI Technology Transfers *[Radio Rossii]* 7
U.S. Role in Warhead Fuel Conversion Noted *[TRUD 23 Jan]* 8
Problems in 'War Gases' Elimination Considered *[Moscow International]* 8

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Emergency Aid to CIS To Be Monitored *[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 22 Jan]* ... 10
No Strategy for Western Assistance Formulated *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 29 Jan]* 11
EC Foreign Ministers Discuss CIS Relations *[TASS]* 12
U.S. Farm Leaders on Cooperation With CIS *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 22 Jan]* 12
Prospects for Black Sea States Accords Viewed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 31 Jan]* 13
Gorbachev Soon To Begin Tour of Europe *[Madrid TV]* 14
Bessmertnykh Views Relations With U.S. *[Russian TV]* 14
No More Weapons to Afghanistan as of 1 Jan *[Russian TV]* 16
Republics, U.S. To Establish Investment Bank *[Radio Rossii]* 17
Citizens 'Reveal Any Information' for Money *[Moscow Radio]* 17

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltics

Talks on Future of Troops in Region Held 18
Joint Communiques Adopted *[POSTFACTUM]* 18
Mironov on Withdrawal *[TASS]* 18

Military

Kasatanov Says Ukrainian Remarks 'Provocative' *[POSTFACTUM]* 19
Grachev Interviewed on Minsk Council Meeting *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Feb]* 19
Officers Union Holds Organizational Conference *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 4 Feb]* 20
Armed Forces Expenditure Priorities Outlined *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Feb]* 21
Army Officers' Poll Results Considered *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 5 Feb]* 24

Economic

Multilateral Economic Agreements Lauded *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 31 Jan]* 25

Agricultural Affairs

Union Council of Kolkhozes Meets in Moscow *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 23 Jan]* 26

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 5 Feb 26

RUSSIA

International Affairs

Yeltsin Expects France's Defense To Reduce *[Moscow Radio]* 28
France's Dumas on Yeltsin Visit, Cooperation *[TASS]* 28
UK's Major Comments on Yeltsin, Arms Control *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Feb]* 29
Yeltsin Tour Said To Mirror Gorbachev Approach *[PRAVDA 3 Feb]* 29
Solton Comments on Yeltsin's Overseas Tour *[Moscow International]* 31
Decree on Baltic Forces Jurisdiction Issued *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Feb]* 32
Shakhray Holds News Conference on Baltic Talks *[Russian TV]* 32
Troops Withdrawal Timetable Given *[TASS]* 32
Mironov To Represent Federation *[Tallinn Radio]* 33
Kozyrev, Turkish President Praise Talks *[TASS]* 33
Treaty 'Weighty Contribution' to Ties *[TASS]* 33
Istanbul Talks Reviewed *[TASS]* 34
Ambassador Lukin on New Diplomatic Post *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 34
'Contradictions' Eyed in Kuznetsov Apointment *[BALTFAX]* 35
Ties With Ukraine Viewed as 'Priority' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Feb]* 35
Gaydar Sees 'Positive' Shift in U.S. Position *[PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 35
Gaydar Receives U.S. Newspaper Publisher *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jan]* 36
USDA Team To Aid in Starting Farms *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 22 Jan]* 36
DPRK Envoy on Signing of Nuclear Accord *[Moscow International]* 36
Optimism Expressed Over North-South Relations *[Moscow International]* 38
Khasbulatov, Japanese Envoy Discuss Aid *[TASS]* 38
Kurils Residents 'Nervous' Over Border Issue *[Moscow TV]* 39
Khabarovsk Firm Signs PRC Letter of Intent *[POSTFACTUM]* 39
Algerian 'Warning' About Interference Viewed *[Moscow International]* 39
Haitian Assassination Attempt Criticized *[TASS]* 40

Federation Affairs

Government Meets To Discuss CIS, Other Issues *[IZVESTIYA 5 Feb]* 40
Mashits Gives Report *[TASS]* 40
Economic, Food Agreements Discussed *[INTERFAX]* 40

Yeltsin Meets With Media Representatives *[Russian TV]* 40
Receives Draft Subsidy Resolution *[TASS]* 41
Paper Views Meeting *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 5 Feb]* 41
Yeltsin Appoints Youth Affairs Representative *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 31 Jan]* 41
Yeltsin Forms Conversion, Aid Commissions *[INTERFAX]* 41
Yeltsin Issues Decree on CIS Economic Ties *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Feb]* 42
Third Independent Farm Congress Opens 3 Feb *[TASS]* 42
Khasbulatov Addresses Congress *[Moscow TV]* 42
Congress Approves Bank Network *[TASS]* 43
Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Attend *[TASS]* 43
Gaydar Addresses Congress *[Moscow TV]* 43
Further Gaydar Comments *[TASS]* 43
Burbulis Addresses Congress *[TASS]* 44
Loans Approved, Not Lower Taxes *[INTERFAX]* 44
Further Reportage on Planned 9 Feb Rallies 44
Moscow Council Bans Demonstration *[TASS]* 44
Traffic Disruptions Banned *[INTERFAX]* 44

Protestors To Pay Moscow *[Moscow TV]* 44
Pros, Cons of Rally Weighed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Feb]* 45
Rival Demonstrations Viewed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 4 Feb]* 46
'Working Russia' Leader Interviewed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Feb]* 47
'Working Russia' Explains Goals *[PRAVDA 1 Feb]* 48
Communists Support 'Working Russia' *[INTERFAX]* 49
Labor Party Shuns Demonstrations *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 4 Feb]* 49
'New Russia' Urges Restraint *[Radio Rossii]* 50
Rutskoy Article on Intelligentsia's Role *[IZVESTIYA 1 Feb]* 50
Vice President Rutskoy To Resume Duties 8 Feb *[TASS]* 54
Former Prime Minister Interviewed on Reform *[Moscow TV]* 54
Paper Explains Dispute With Distributors *[IZVESTIYA 1 Feb]* 55
SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Appeals to Readers *[1 Feb]* 57
Paper Explains Pricing, Distribution Problems *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 4 Feb]* 57
'Soyuzpechat' Aide on Deregulated Paper Prices *[PRAVDA 1 Feb]* 58
Media Minister Comments on Russian Press House *[IZVESTIYA 3 Feb]* 58
'Barely Enough' Food To Meet Half Demand *[TASS]* 58
Government Foresees 1st Quarter Price Decline *[Russian TV]* 58
Economists Forecast Commodity Price Increases *[PRAVDA 31 Jan]* 59
Numerous Strikes Reported Throughout Republic *[INTERFAX]* 59
General Cites Need for Military Doctrine *[TASS]* 60

Supreme Soviet

Further Reportage on KGB Role in Coup Attempt 60
Stepashin Recalls Arrest Plans *[Radio Rossii]* 60
Agents 'May Still Be Operating' *[IZVESTIYA 5 Feb]* 60
Gorbachev Coup Role Viewed *[Moscow Radio]* 61
Alleged Intelligence Link Denied *[TASS]* 62
Barranikov Urges 'Strict Control' *[TASS]* 63
Further Comments by Officials *[INTERFAX]* 63
Official Views CIS, Reforms, Other Issues *[Prague RUDE PRAVO 31 Jan]* 63
Commission To Reform State Security Bodies *[INTERFAX]* 64
Inter-Parliament Summit To Be Held 26-27 Feb *[INTERFAX]* 64
Price Regulation Resolution To Be Revised *[INTERFAX]* 64
Resolution on Use of Federal Road Stock *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 3 Feb]* 65
Tatarstan's 'Alternative Parliament' Criticized *[TASS]* 65
Senezh Forum Sits 30 Jan, Discusses Program *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 31 Jan]* 65

Regional Affairs

Tatarstan Leader Defends Price Liberalization *[Moscow TV]* 66
Delivers Economic Report *[TASS]* 66
Assesses Kazan Assembly *[TASS]* 66
Says Defense Industry in 'Bad State' *[INTERFAX]* 67
Tatarstan Congress Declares Nuclear-Free Zone *[Radio Rossii]* 67
Kaliningrad Chairman Returns From Moscow Talks *[MARITIME PRESS SERVICE]* 67
Karelia To Create External Relations Ministry *[Russian TV]* 67
Yakutia Republic To Set Up Foreign Ministry *[INTERFAX]* 67
Khakass Supreme Soviet Adopts Name Change *[TASS]* 67
Elects Chairman *[TASS]* 68
Chairman Resigns *[TASS]* 68
St. Petersburg Rally Protests Government Policy *[PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 68
Sakhalin Opposes Offshore Rights Decision *[TASS]* 68
Ingush Leader Rejects Chechen Protection *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Feb]* 68
'Secret' Sverdlovsk Chemical Dump Revealed *[Radio Rossii]* 69
Udmurt Supreme Soviet Views Chemical Weapons *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 31 Jan]* 69

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Defense Ministry Spokesman on CIS Policy *[INTERFAX]* 70
To Press Stand on Black Sea Fleet *[TASS]* 70
Further on Remarks *[TASS]* 70
Kravchuk Reviews World Economic Forum Meeting *[TASS]* 71
Further on Kravchuk's Visit to Germany *[TASS]* 71
Reportage of Kravchuk's Visit to Germany *[cross-reference]* 72
Oil Deal With Iran, Azerbaijan Concluded *[IZVESTIYA 4 Feb]* 72
Cuban Relations, Economic Impact Viewed *[URYADOVYY KURYER Jan]* 73
Rukh Criticizes Russia's 'Territorial Claims' *[IZVESTIYA 1 Feb]* 73
Revival Party Criticizes Russian Parliament *[INTERFAX]* 73
Cooperation Accord Signed With Yaroslavl *[Moscow Radio]* 73
Chernobyl Discussed With Canadian Experts *[Kiev Radio]* 74

National Affairs

Kravchuk Views Military Policy, Prices *[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT Jan]* 74
Military Commanders Interviewed on Reform *[TASS]* 75
Demonstrators Support Fleet Commander *[INTERFAX]* 76
Officer Removed Over Oath Administration *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 3 Feb]* 76
Commentary on New Militia Law, Impact *[URYADOVYY KURYER Jan]* 76
National Guard 'Nearly 10,000 Strong' *[INTERFAX]* 76
Dnestr President Remarks on Forming Army *[INTERFAX]* 77
Servicemen's Situation, Housing Assessed *[URYADOVYY KURYER Jan]* 77
CPSU Property Transferred to Crimean Control *[Kiev International]* 78
Crimea To Receive Funds for Tatars' Return *[TASS]* 79
Groups Collect Signatures for Crimea Secession *[INTERFAX]* 79
Cabinet Simplifies Border Crossings *[Kiev International]* 79
Rukh Chairman Holds News Conference 27 Jan *[POSTFACTUM]* 79
'New Ukraine' Group Founded; Assembly Held *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 22 Jan]* 79
Peasant Party Holds Inaugural Conference *[Radio Rossii]* 80
Democratic Party Views Economic Reform *[Kiev Radio]* 80
Migration of Non-Ukrainians Noted, Viewed *[ZA VILNU UKRAYINU 16 Jan]* 80
Magazine About Chernobyl Efforts Published *[TASS]* 81
Kharkov Plants Idle Due to Supply Problems *[Moscow TV]* 81
Donbass Mining Plant To Halt Production *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Feb]* 82

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Democratic Forces Form 'Novaya Belarus' Group 83
Push for Referendum *[TASS]* 83
Aim To Become 'Consolidating Link' *[TASS]* 83
Government 'Has No Intention of Resigning' *[TASS]* 83
Foreign Agents Said To Be Increasing Activity *[INTERFAX]* 83

Moldova

Snegur Comments on CIS, Reunification *[Vienna PROFIL 3 Feb]* 84
Snegur Satisfied With Economic Forum Results *[INTERFAX]* 84
Ministry Issues Statement on Dnestr 'Terror' *[Kishinev Radio]* 84
Conflict Continues *[Moscow Radio]* 85
IMF Experts Opine on Move to Market Economy *[Kishinev Radio]* 85
Muravschi, Romanian Envoys Discuss Relations *[Bucharest Radio]* 85
Diplomatic Ties Established With 3 Countries *[Moscow TV]* 86

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

German Minister on Russian, Kazakh Relations *[Hamburg DPA]* 87
Telecommunications Accord Signed With Germany *[Berlin ADN]* 87
Details on Semipalatinsk Test Range Disclosed *[TASS]* 87
Use of Baykonyr Cosmodrome, Tests Noted *[POSTFACTUM]* 87
Baykonyr Future Said 'Highly Uncertain' *[Moscow TV]* 88
Republic To Grant U.S. Most-Favored Status *[INTERFAX]* 88
Alma-Ata, Havana Conclude Oil-for-Sugar Deal *[TASS]* 88
President Nazarbayev Invited To Visit India *[INTERFAX]* 88
Prime Minister Tours Western Region *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 89
Announces Plans for 'Sea Fleet' *[INTERFAX]* 89
Chechen Congress Views Interethnic Conflicts *[POSTFACTUM]* 89

Tajikistan

Foreign Minister on Fundamentalism, Turkey *[Ankara ANATOLIA]* 89
Foreign Ministry Denies Uranium Sold Abroad *[Dushanbe Radio]* 90
Military Chief Denies Afghan Weapons Shipment *[POSTFACTUM]* 90
Defense Official Denies Arms Supplies *[Radio Rossii]* 90
Nabiyev Urges Entrepreneurship to Businessmen *[Dushanbe Radio]* 90

CAUCASUS

Azerbaijan

Further Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Events 92
Mutalibov Rejects Possible UN Forces *[TASS]* 92
Official Holds News Conference *[Baku Radio]* 92
Azeris Said Preparing 'New Attacks' *[INTERFAX]* 92
'200 Lebanese Mercenaries' Leave *[Moscow TV]* 93
Military Chief on Regiment's Neutrality *[Yerevan International]* 93
Accord on 'Humanitarian Corridor' *[TASS]* 93
Relief Measures Unlikely To Avert 'Crisis' *[PRAVDA 30 Jan]* 93

Georgia

Tengiz Sigua Interviewed on Events, Prospects *[Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP 3 Feb]* 94
Ioseliani Asked To Assess Developments *[Tbilisi Radio]* 96
Political Bloc Does Not Accept New Government *[INTERFAX]* 97
Abkhaz Strikers May Face 'Severe Measures' *[Tbilisi Radio]* 97
Details Given on S. Ossetia Strength, Weaponry *[Moscow Radio]* 97
Minister: 'Around 80%' of Enterprises Idle *[INTERFAX]* 98
Commentary on Gamsakhurdia's 'Shameless Frenzy' *[IZVESTIYA 31 Jan]* 98

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Possibility of Arms From Russia Seen as 'Real' *[BALTFAX]* 99
Experts Say Market Transition To Be 'Painful' *[BALTFAX]* 99
More Details on Economic Agreement With Russia *[Tallinn TV]* 99
Swedish Aid To Purchase Fodder, Seed Grain *[Tallinn Radio]* 99
Ruutel Says Servicemen as Deputies 'Improper' *[BALTFAX]* 99
Deputy Speaker Addresses Citizenhip Law Issue *[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 28 Jan]* 99

Latvia

Claims To Army Property Discussed 'Extensively' *[IZVESTIYA 31 Jan]* 101
Economic Agreement With Russia 'in Danger' *[Riga International]* 101
Russia Stops Cargo Deliveries Through Junction *[Riga International]* 101
Russian Annexation of City of Abrene 'Hasty' *[POSTFACTUM]* 101
Government Discusses Economy With Entrepreneurs *[Riga Radio]* 102

Lithuania

Landsbergis Briefs Swiss Economic Forum *[BALTFAX]* 102
Returns From Forum *[Vilnius Radio]* 102
Economics Minister Returns From China *[Vilnius International]* 102
Landsbergis Appeals to Supreme Council *[EKHO LITVY 22 Jan]* 103
New 'National Progress' Faction Registered *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 30 Jan]* 103
Labor Party Resolution on Sejm, Elections *[TIESA 9 Jan]* 103
Armed Communist Underground Reports False *[BALTFAX]* 104
Official on 'Critical' Economic Situation *[Vilnius Radio]* 104

Military Responds to Disarmament Initiatives

LD0502100292 Moscow TASS in English 0940 GMT 5 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS military writer Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—"A perspective, unordinary and audacious moves" are the latest disarmament initiatives of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, according to a Commonwealth military spokesman. [sentence as received]

The idea of creating a global anti-missile defence system, which was discussed by the Russian and U.S. Presidents in Camp David, is very interesting, Valeriy Manilov told TASS on Wednesday [4 February]. If implemented, it can give better world security guarantees than any other national programme, including the U.S. SDI initiative. "In case the U.S. and CIS strategic missiles, after their bilateral equal cuts, are no longer aimed at each other's cities and peaceful targets, if all the nuclear states will agree to drastically cut their nuclear arms until their complete elimination, the world will become a better and safer place for all", Manilov said.

But time is needed to make this large-scale political initiative a reality, according to the spokesman. "The search for concrete forms of implementing the moves, of their legal grounds and of verification mechanisms will be carried out at negotiations of all levels—from heads of state to military experts", Manilov said.

The CIS main military command and the general headquarters are thoroughly studying the U.S. peace proposals at present, Manilov disclosed. "An all-round and objective assessment of the proposed U.S. nuclear arms cuts should precede any decisions", but the assessment is sure to be influenced by the fact that the United States is no longer viewed as an enemy, but as a partner and a country with which "we shall, evidently, join efforts in creating a new global defence system, based on the priority of political means and trust", the spokesman said.

Army Paper Assesses Arms Cuts

PM0402145592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jan 92 p 3

[Observer Aleksandr Golts article under the "Topic of the Week" rubric: "Presidents Adopt Counter Plan—Arms Cuts"]

[Excerpts] Until today, I was firmly convinced that word collocations like "counter plan" and "heightened pledges" had disappeared from newspaper pages for ever. But here I am, writing them myself. I am fully justified in doing this. After all, now we are not talking about partner enterprises but about the presidents of the two great powers— the United States and Russia—adopting an actual "counter plan," and making "heightened pledges." In the matter of arms cuts. [passage omitted]

Of course, whatever the motivations behind the presidents' disarmament initiatives, they are guided by a desire to ensure more reliable security for their peoples. At the same time, when putting forward their own proposals and announcing unilateral steps, G. Bush and B. Yeltsin often pursue parallel policies in fact. First and foremost, this applies to the cessation of the production and development [razrabotka] of expensive arms systems. Both presidents declared that work on new strategic missiles would be halted and the production or procurement of cruise missiles and strategic bombers will cease.

However, at the same time there is something else which cannot be ignored. The different domestic political situations and different status in the world have also determined the difference in the presidents' approaches to the most important questions of military policy. Take strategic arms, for example. Russia's position is this: We will reduce the number of such weapons on combat alert to the level stipulated in the START Treaty within just three years instead of the proposed seven.

The data cited by B. Yeltsin confirm that, contrary to Soviet tradition, this initiative is perfectly feasible. It appears that two-thirds of sea- and ground-launched missiles and just under one-third of the nuclear munitions scheduled for elimination were taken off combat alert within just six months. Russia intends to propose far more extensive cuts, aimed at leaving each side with no more than 2,000-2,500 warheads, at the forthcoming talks with Western leaders.

For his part, G. Bush intends to completely give up the MX missiles and replace the MIRVed warheads of "Minuteman" missiles with single warheads. There are also plans to cut back the number of warheads deployed at sea by one-third. Of course, the fact that Washington finally intends to cut state-of-the-art rather than obsolete technology can only be welcomed. However, let us not forget: These cuts which, according to my calculations, will leave the Pentagon with around 2,700 warheads on sea- and ground-launched missiles, will only be implemented by the United States if the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states satisfy the conditions laid down by it. Washington demands the complete elimination of our land-based MIRVed missiles. In other words, the weapons which comprise the basis of our country's strategic defense potential. Bearing in mind that the Russian president is proposing to halt nuclear submarine combat patrols on a reciprocal basis, G. Bush's counter pledges are clearly inadequate.

Today, of course, there is no longer any question of our Armed Forces' being in a state of global confrontation with the United States. We do not need military might equivalent to that of America and, more importantly, we do not have the potential to achieve it. B. Yeltsin's initiatives are proof of truly radical changes in our military doctrine (we will not linger upon the inept word collocation "reasonable minimum sufficiency"). To call a spade a spade, we are putting an end to military rivalry

with the United States not only on the level of political declarations but also in practical military activity.

However, it seems to me that this reorientation in military policy will not just entail political dividends, but will also engender serious problems, and not just in the technical sphere. In the new situation, the military are entitled to demand from politicians both apartments and tolerable living conditions, as well as clear-cut strategic planning. After all, in a situation without an obvious potential adversary, it is necessary to be able to foresee potential dangers. I hope our political leaders will forgive me, but I am far from convinced that they possess the full capacity to cope precisely and rapidly—like their Washington counterparts—with a crisis like that in Iraq.

Analysts draw attention to yet another consequence of the reduction of the United States' and Russia's nuclear missile potential. As the might of the two giants is being cut back, the value of nuclear weapons at the disposal of other countries increases. This situation could stimulate further still certain regimes' ambitions to get hold of the nuclear death. Therefore, the Russian president's proposal to create an international agency to monitor all technological processes linked with the use of radioactive materials warrants close attention. Another important means of maintaining strategic stability in current conditions could be the development [razrabotka] and deployment by Russia and the United States of a global system of defense against nuclear attack to replace SDI (admittedly, the opinion of the Americans on this score has yet to be learned.)

Finally, the last and perhaps the most important aspect. The initiatives by Russia and the United States are very important. They will become the topic not only of the week but, I think, of the whole year. Of course, they will be closely studied in other countries' capitals, and will evidently be discussed at the Security Council. However, these initiatives require not just a simple approval but specific measures to cut back other countries' nuclear arsenals. Moreover, they will create preconditions for shaping a system of international security, already proposed by Moscow in the past. Bearing in mind the existence of a number of conflict situations in the world, including the complex relations between CIS states, the need for such a system is only too obvious today.

CIA, DIA Directors on CIS Defense Collapse

PM0402092192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 4

[TASS report: "Complete Collapse"]

[Text] Closed hearings addressed by CIA Director Gates and DIA Director Clapper have been held in the Senate Armed Services Committee.

According to information in AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, they both stated that arms production is being radically cut in the former Soviet Union, as a result of which many defense industry enterprises have practically ceased to exist.

"The military potential of Russia and other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries has completely collapsed," the magazine quotes Clapper as saying. "At the present time there is little evidence that we can expect an attack on the United States or its allies by Russia or other CIS countries." In Gates' opinion, the process of modernizing strategic weapons in Russia will be considerably slowed down, but some new systems will be deployed nonetheless. Some enterprises are continuing to produce defense output, but we can expect them to close soon since they are rapidly realizing all the reserves of material currently at their disposal.

Gates said that his department possesses information about plans to sell certain conventional weapons systems to a number of countries in order to earn foreign currency.

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Nunn described the remarks by the leaders of the two intelligence departments as "incredible," stressing that if the information they cited is corroborated, this will have a considerable effect on future U.S. expenditure in the military sphere.

Cheney Cited on New Defense Priorities

PM0302111192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jan 92 p 3

[Report by Major M. Pogoreliy: "U.S. Defense Priorities for 1990's"]

[Text] In a speech at the Foreign Policy Association, U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney expounded his views on the priorities for America's military strategy through the end of the decade. In his words, despite massive changes within the former Soviet Union, the U.S. Armed Forces' combat readiness must be maintained at a high level.

While many people in Congress incline toward insisting on immediate and significant reductions in the defense sphere, Cheney declared, this would be a "very serious mistake:" This has to be done without haste and with considerable thought, without damaging the qualitative characteristics of troops and naval forces. "No country in the world can match us for combat capabilities," the U.S. defense secretary said. "We intend to preserve this superiority in the future too, although with fewer forces and less expenditure."

Speaking about the need to maintain America's "first-rate military potential" in the coming years, Cheney named those regions of the world which are the current focus of the Pentagon's close attention. They are, primarily, the Near East and North Africa. It seems that the Commonwealth states are of no particular concern for American strategists from a military viewpoint: the former Soviet Union's ability to deploy modern arms

systems and to develop and use "exotic" technologies or to produce military hardware "prompts serious doubts today," Cheney said.

Arms Experts on 'Cracked' Nuclear Shield

PM0402112492 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by K. Belyaninov incorporating interviews with Boris Gorbachev, former chief of nuclear weapons design department, and unidentified designer: "Dropping a Bombshell"]

[Text] As it happens, to this day we do not know what to do with the Tsar-Cannon [16th century gun, never fired, now on display in the Kremlin], although it is 500 years since they imposed a moratorium on testing it.

In the old days everything was simple. The country rolled smoothly on its way from one labor achievement to the next, and even nuclear explosions were used as a kind of educational visual aid. In 1949, for instance, when the Soviet Union had only just begun to test weapons in the steppes near Semipalatinsk, teachers at nearby schools used to take the children outside, point to the mushroom cloud on the horizon, and say: "Look, children, that's where they are forging a secure shield for our Motherland."

They were forging quite a big shield, too. In the last 40 years, according to American figures, 818 explosions were carried out at two test ranges alone—the Semipalatinsk and Novaya Zemlya ranges; the number of nuclear charges is believed to be in hundreds of thousands, and as for secret cities engaged solely in weapons production, as many as 87 were built.

"The situation our nuclear arsenal is in now is frankly disastrous," claims Boris Gorbachev, who worked for more than 25 years as chief of a design department for the development of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. "Whereas formerly we could at least maintain our munitions at a level dictated by the country's and people's security, now this is almost impossible. The weapons improvement program has been wound up and test ranges closed, and that means that production has halted and thousands of specialists will be out of work. Back in 1986 the country's only nuclear research centers—the institutes of theoretical and experimental physics—were deprived of centralized food supplies, then budget finance was cut by a third, and recently they were transferred entirely to market relations 'within the framework of conversion'! But a nuclear production facility is not a plant manufacturing warplanes which in principle could produce vacuum cleaners as well. We have nothing to offer except weapons, and much as you might like to, you cannot barter them for meat. Therefore you have to destroy everything that has been built up over the decades, and then you can start from scratch making baby carriages. As a result of all these decisions irreplaceable experts are leaving the facilities."

At the very beginning of perestroyka it immediately became clear that such an extensive nuclear shield was not really appropriate to the officially declared peaceful aspirations of the new leadership. Then a one-year moratorium was imposed on all weapons tests and world public opinion was listened to keenly.

True, the public showed no particular enthusiasm, and Richard Perle, then U.S. assistant secretary of defense for international security policy, even went so far as to observe that "the development of weapons systems that are really safe in storage is impossible without nuclear tests."

"The problem of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons is by no means exhausted with the declaration of a moratorium, the closure of test ranges, and the creation of nuclear-free zones. We announced to the whole world our plans for the destruction of tactical nuclear weapons, but nothing is being done in this direction, and in the context of the loss of irreplaceable experts, in a year or two this problem will be totally insoluble," a designer who wishes to remain anonymous believes. "You simply cannot find people who possess sufficient experience and knowledge. A nuclear bomb is not a tank that you can calmly mothball and dump somewhere in the steppes. A large quantity of radioactive components and the elements in them have a life of their own, giving off very powerful radiation, from which, incidentally, we have yet to learn to protect ourselves.

"Judge for yourself. In order to neutralize a nuclear weapon, first you have to remove the radioactive materials, and only then can you blow up the very powerful explosive materials. One part of a weapon, for instance, is a small ampoule in which, with the passage of time, the pressure of radioactive gas increases. The ampoule is hermetically sealed, but even so its durability is limited.

"It has to be opened and destroyed without allowing a sudden discharge of gases and contamination of the area. This can only be done by those who manufactured the article and those who can make the necessary equipment—designers and technologists. In all our centers there are not more than 500 such experts. Now they are leaving too. And if you take into account that the number of these ampoules is believed to be in tens of thousands, and they are scattered around naval and army units, bases, and dumps throughout the country's territory, it becomes quite clear that in the very near future hundreds of 'Chernobyls,' big and small, can be expected."

The nuclear shield that was forged so zealously over more than 40 years has turned out to be well and truly cracked. The state's technical and scientific potential dictated its own terms, and the weapons, which at one time met the very highest criteria, are now approaching the critical point. It has been a kind of historical tradition for our state not to pay too much attention to people's safety. The radiation levels that exist on Soviet

submarines, for instance, are deemed unanimously by U.S. experts to be unacceptable for the health of the crew.

Meanwhile, at a session of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee back in May 1986, it was stated that "thanks to the program of perfecting and testing nuclear weapons, several thousand fewer nuclear weapons are now stored in U.S. arsenals than in 1960, their total yield adds up to one-fourth of what it was 30 years ago, and the safety level has increased several times over...."

[Unidentified interviewee] "If you were to draw parallels, the comparison would not be in our favor. First, we cannot improve our weapons because the test ranges are closed and 'real-life' tests have stopped. For the same reason we cannot check on how safe our weapons are in storage. The Americans have reduced the number of their tests to a minimum because they can mathematically model the 'behavior' of weapons using computers, and are, incidentally, continuing to develop third-generation weapons that we can only dream of. We do not have that possibility: the total capacity of our computer centers is several times smaller than the Americans', and our computers are not technically capable of coping with such work. As a result, operations that they can carry out in a day or two take us three months, with the machines working at full capacity and the experts working flat out, 10-15 hours a day.

"Also, there are still weapons in our arsenals that were produced in the fifties and sixties. Although they are imperfect and not very reliable, no one has ever considered destroying them."

[Belyaninov] "Do you think an accidental explosion is possible?"

[Unidentified interviewee] "Of course. There are now 300,000 homeless officers in the Army, and a man who is simply tired out because of the trials of daily life may easily make a mistake when carrying out routine inspection and maintenance work on nuclear weapons. As a result the detonator capsule will go off—and in the old models they are highly imperfect—and there will be a mighty explosion of the explosive material. That will not cause a chain reaction in the nuclear 'stuffing,' but pieces of radioactive materials will be scattered over a radius of tens of kilometers."

The former theories of "nuclear deterrence" and international balance, according to which the two nuclear superpowers—the USSR and the United States—counterbalanced each other, making the situation in the world comparatively stable, have by all appearances gone forever. Soviet defense systems, designed in response to the probable adversary's latest weapons, will become absolutely useless in five or six years, in view of the fact that no country in the world has yet stopped its weapons development program. And if you remember that plans for the development of a "nuclear bomb for the Arab world" have already been announced, a scenario that today seems somewhat ridiculous will become entirely possible: some future Saddam Husayn will dictate his terms to the present Commonwealth.

'Alarming' Conditions of Power Stations Cited

PM0402150192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Marat Zubko: "Risk of Accident at Soviet Nuclear Electric Power Stations 100 Times Greater Than at Western Stations, Swedish Experts Believe"]

[Text] Stockholm—A group of experts has returned to Sweden with depressing conclusions. Represented on the group were staffers of the Atomic Power Inspectorate and the Institute for Protection Against Radioactivity, who familiarized themselves with the activity of nuclear electric power stations [AES] and other installations in Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. It is their opinion that the risk of an accident at AES's in the former Soviet Union is "hundreds of times greater than at nuclear stations in West European countries."

Of course, the Swedish specialists' conclusion certainly should not be understood in such a way that a new accident might happen in our country tomorrow or the next day. Nor, to all appearances, should we plunge into excessive pessimism. But the situation is alarming. Lars Hogberg, general director of the Atomic Power Inspectorate, explains it as follows: "We regard the chance of an accident occurring at AES's in the former USSR as one in 1,000, and at Swedish stations as one in 100,000..."

The specialists were particularly concerned about the AES's at Sosnovyy Bor near St. Petersburg and at Ignalina (Lithuania). They believed that the safety system at those stations is not as good as is required by modern yardsticks. In particular, protection against a possible fire is poor.

In principle, two of the four reactors at the Sosnovyy Bor AES ought to be shut down, and both reactors at Ignalina should be substantially modernized, the Swedish experts believe. On the whole, they regarded the AES's as obsolete in many respects.

True, one thing is comforting: The guests had no doubts about the qualifications of the AES staffers. Nevertheless, the Swedes could not fail to notice that the nuclear power situation in the states which have emerged in the area of the former USSR is exacerbated by the overall economic crisis and disruption.

Yes, the experts' report states, plans exist to update the AES's in Russia, Lithuania, and other independent states in the nineties, but there are doubts about the reality of their implementation. Why? Because there are insufficient funds, the personnel are preoccupied with the "pursuit of sustenance," and suppliers now demand hard currency for equipment. In conclusion the report points

out the following alarming fact: Highly qualified AES specialists are beginning to move to other places to work, particularly to industrial enterprises where wages are higher.

According to the Swedes' data, 34 nuclear reactors of the Chernobyl AES type are operating, in all, on the territory of the fragmented Soviet Union. Of course, it is difficult to stop them working. The members of the expert group themselves maintain that the closure of the Sosnovyy Bor station, for example, will leave the entire St. Petersburg region without electricity.

All the same, something has to be done. According to the Swedish observers' assessments, trouble could occur at any time. The reaction of the Swedish authorities to these conclusions is significant. On the basis of the report they have decided to carry out work in two areas. First, along the lines of preparing Sweden's public for the possibility that an accident could occur somewhere not far from its borders. Second, Stockholm has decided to consider seeking funds to give Russia and other states assistance in modernizing their AES's. This is understandable. The consequences of a possible disaster will inevitably affect other countries. This is why the authorities of many states are now speaking increasingly actively of the need for such assistance.

'Mass Exodus' of Nuclear Scientists Viewed

MK0502113092 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 6, 9 Feb 92 pp 18-19

[Interview with Academician Nikolay Ponomarev-Stepnoy, first deputy director of "Kurchatov Institute" Russian scientific center, by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent Dmitriy Yakushkin; place and date not given: "Nuclear Time-Out"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The West is still voicing disquiet over the future of nuclear scientists from the former USSR whose knowledge and training could be exploited by certain Third World countries. Nikolay Ponomarev-Stepnoy, first deputy director of the "Kurchatov Institute" Russian scientific center, told us during an interview with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI's correspondent that he sees only one way to avoid this.

[Yakushkin] How many people at the Kurchatov Institute have direct access to the secrets of nuclear technology?

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] We have 10,000 people working here and roughly 2,500 staffers are employed in scientific studies. Some 10 percent of them are "key people" who could, so to speak, develop those things that everyone is so afraid of.

[Yakushkin] How many specialists like that are there in the country in all?

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] Several thousand, according to my information.

[Yakushkin] Reports have appeared in the press to the effect that Libyan representatives have approached personnel at the Kurchatov Institute...

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] There have indeed been offers from the Libyans, but they were of a quite different nature. As you know, we set up a nuclear center in Libya, at Tajura, for strictly peaceful purposes, and our people get invited there either for consultations or to work. There are a few people there at the moment. But there have been times when we had roughly 100 specialists there.

[Yakushkin] Is it thought that these peaceful centers could also be used for military purposes?

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] We are able to monitor what is happening at Tajura and how the center is used. I can guarantee that there is no military work being carried out there. We did not lay down the technical base for that from the very outset, realizing what that might threaten.

[Yakushkin] Are you concerned about the possibility of a mass exodus of nuclear specialists from the former USSR?

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] I do not foresee a large-scale exodus. There may be isolated instances, but that has also happened before, when people even left the closed systems. In the sector in question—that is, in the sphere of nuclear technology—people have probably been selected in a unique way. Out of professional interest a specialist would even agree to live in a closed city, subjecting himself to considerable psychological stress, and by way of compensation would receive work to which he remained attached. It is quite hard for these people to change their mentality—especially for money.

[Yakushkin] Nonetheless do you think that the situation threatens to change in the future?

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] Our nuclear specialist will not develop a desire to leave as long as we supply him with work. If we do not do that and he goes outside the Kurchatov Institute fence, he may then be forced to go abroad because, as a specialist in a very restricted sphere, he will not find a use for his talents here. However, in that case he would most likely go to the West. After all, we are referring to people who are in no way inferior to U.S. nuclear specialists. There is not very much chance of his going to Libya, because living conditions there are of a quite specific kind and because the route to a Western country could be closed to him after doing so.

[Yakushkin] So, work is needed. But is it possible, with military studies being curtailed and scientific funding cut?

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] I have great doubts about nuclear specialists only being employable at state budget expense. At best, money will be put into increasing

wages, but you cannot hang on to anyone like that. I see the solution in joint projects with the West, primarily with the Americans. There are spheres where we have top technologies at our disposal—at world standards or above. However, we lack the opportunity to make practical use of them. At the same time, a demand exists for many programs—for instance, in ensuring the security of nuclear installations, enhancing space satellites' power supply, and developing a global ABM defense system. It would cost the world community less to implement these projects if it entrusted some of the work to us. I am afraid that subsidies for our nuclear specialists and the creation of special funds, which people in the West are now suggesting, will solve nothing.

Ukrainian Research Scientists Affected

OW0502063092 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Feb 92

[From the "Utro" program]

[Text] The problem of brain drain to the West, the problem of the drain of the priceless scientific resources to the West from the Commonwealth of Independent States, is still a very real issue. We have a report on this from Kharkov, one of the major centers of....[changes thought] before I would have said of our fatherland's science—one of the major centers of Ukrainian science.

[Reporter V. Pidchenko] As we were advised from (?Evir), the number of Kharkov residents who have left for permanent residence abroad has dropped in the past year by more than half in the oblast.

We have no statistics on scientists. I can only say that all of our leading nuclear physicists and space specialists are still working and are not yet preparing to leave Kharkov.

Nevertheless, prognoses by a number of leaders of scientific establishments are not comforting. Yesterday we filmed this event at the Giprostal Institute. The director is bidding farewell to a coworker invited to work in Germany.

[Begin video recording] [G. Ye. Goryaynov, director of the Giprostal Scientific Research and Project Institute] Of course, it is sad to part with these workers, but what can we do! Have a safe journey!

[Unidentified man] It is very sad, but that is life.

[Goryaynov] Good-bye.

[Pidchenko] How often do you have to send off people leaving for abroad?

[Goryaynov] In all probability, this is only the beginning. It is like a snowball that becomes an avalanche. This is the third occasion in the past month. There will be more later. What is most frightening is that the best specialists are leaving. We must think about this now; we must decide on these issues now, so as to staunch this movement immediately. Otherwise, we will lose so many people that no amount of money will be able to resurrect them. Please understand that this is the second time in a century this has happened. In 1917, we scattered Russia's engineering corps and scientific capacity. Later, we gathered them up like crumbs, paid huge amounts of money, and achieved world recognition. Everything is again being plunged into an abyss of uncertainty. How long will this last? We must stop and think. [end video recording]

Kazakh Brain Drain Issue Addressed

LD0402000292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2135 GMT 1 Feb 92

["Kazakhstan Nuclear Scientists Will Not Go To Work Abroad"; from the "Politics" section]

[Text] Kurchatov—Nuclear physicists of Kurchatov, Semipalatinsk region, did not get offers to have jobs abroad.

Nikolay Urenskiy, head engineer of technical research association LUCH, also told PF [POSTFACTUM] that despite their low salaries (in 1991 the average salary was 470 rbs [rubles]), no nuclear physicists would accept such an offer. Urgenskiy emphasized: As far as I am concerned, however bad it might be here, I will not go anywhere for any money.

At the same time, according to Urenskiy, nuclear physicists are not against further contacts with foreign researchers. LUCH head engineer Nikolay Urenskiy also said that if the Kazakhstan Government sets up in Kurchatov a research center and provides orders for research, there would be no brain drain beyond the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. Urenskiy said: Researchers from Kazakhstan will not leave for other CIS countries en masse. Firstly because most of them have no place to go, and secondly because the policy taken by Kazakhstan leadership does not give grounds for pessimism.

Baykonyr Launch Possible START Violation

LD3101230992 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 28 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York January 28 TASS—The latest test-firing of a modified SS-19 intercontinental ballistic missile from the Baykonyr cosmodrome in Kazakhstan on December 20, 1991, was carried out with violations of the provisions of the Strategic Arms Limitation and Reduction Treaty (START), the U.S. AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, an influential weekly of the U.S. aerospace industry, points out today with reference to data from Pentagon high officials.

Although CIA Director Robert Gates had been informed of the planned test-firing in advance, the weekly emphasises, some technical characteristics of the launch had been concealed.

Under the provisions of the START treaty, signed by U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow last summer, the sides should not only inform each other of a planned missile test-firing but also provide data on the planned technical characteristics of the missile flight path.

In the judgment of the Pentagon, the latest test-firing of the missile differed from previous SS-19 launchings, the weekly notes.

Nuclear Research Institutes Reorganized

924P0056C Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 23 Jan 92 p 1

[Unattributed article: "The Half-Life of Atomic Scientists"]

[Text] ...Well, in the orderly ranks of the Ministry of the Atomic Energy Industry [MAEP], which has maintained its "sphere of influence" in the entire CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], a "deserter" has appeared—the former Atomic Energy Institute imeni Kurchatov, the "head" of all Soviet atomic science. B. Yeltsin has issued a special ukase with respect to it—"On Establishment of the Russian Scientific Center 'Kurchatov Institute.'" The people at Kurchatov now intend to collaborate with their former MAEP comrades only at market prices.

MAEP Minister V. Konovalov, dreaming of gathering all nuclear scientific research institutes, enterprises of the Sverdlovsk Nuclear Power Station Equipment Plant, and military offices under the one roof of the interrepublic corporation "Sredmash" [Medium Machine Building], found out about all this after the fact. Recovering from shock, the MAEP people are thundering against traitors from every platform. While ordinary atomic scientists, holding down miserly salaries, are already knocking on Kurchatov's doors—"We want to join you too!"

Power Seen As 'Stabilizing Factor'

LD0102220992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0830 GMT 29 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Lyubov Dunayeva]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—"Drawing up an interstate agreement on the integration of the nuclear industry is one of the paramount solutions to the problem of security in this area, while the structure for running the nuclear power complex of the former USSR is in a period of change", thinks Andrey Gagarinskiy, deputy director of the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute and executive secretary of the Nuclear Society, which brings together experts and enterprises in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] states, as well as Georgia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

"This document", he told a TASS correspondent, "should make provision for a regime of safe development with regard to nuclear power in the Commonwealth, control systems for the production and distribution of nuclear and radioactive materials, the implementation of a single policy of ecologically safe handling of spent nuclear fuel and the localization of radioactive waste, fulfilling international obligations on the peaceful use of nuclear energy, regulating the export and import of nuclear materials, and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. The CIS states must take upon themselves the financing of research and design work to create prospective safe nuclear installations and fundamental research in atomic science, equipment, and technology."

The economically profitable and safe generation of power can be ensured and the defense capability of the Commonwealth states maintained only while maintaining all the industrial ties in the nuclear industry complex situated on the territories of virtually all those participating in the Commonwealth, Andrey Gagarinskiy noted. The production of plutonium and enriched uranium, and the whole nuclear weapons production cycle are located in Russia, uranium pellets are made in Kazakhstan, and the mining industries are situated in Ukraine, in Central Asia, and in Kazakhstan. This is why understandable concerns arise among our Western partners.

A nuclear power industry fully supplied with fuel and with a compact, well-designed technological cycle, could be a stabilizing factor in the economic and energy situation in the Commonwealth, the scientist believes. Assessments of the power and ecological balances in Armenia, Central Russia, the Kola Peninsula, and Kazakhstan have demonstrated that without new nuclear power generating capacities, normal life is virtually impossible for the population of these regions.

Commentary Notes SDI Technology Transfers

LD0102043992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Commentary by Igor Ambrosov]

[Text] A summit meeting between the presidents of the United States and the Russian Federation will take place today at Camp David, Maryland. Topping the agenda during their talks will, of course, be arms control. Of course, George Bush and Boris Yeltsin will discuss their recent initiatives. Among the new ideas contained in Boris Yeltsin's statement on Russian policy toward arms reductions and limitations, specialists are singling out the attitude to anti-missile defenses in space. As is known, the indefinite duration ABM treaty between the USSR and United States signed in 1972 assumed that neither side would strengthen its ability to counter the other's missiles. For a long time, a limited anti-missile

defense was viewed by Soviet military experts as a safeguard against the temptation to deliver a preemptive nuclear strike. That is why the protests were so strong against the ill-famed SDI, or Strategic Defense Initiative, of President Reagan. How does the Russian leadership see this issue today? Igor Ambrosov comments:

[Ambrosov] You could write a thriller novel about the resistance by Soviet diplomatic and other establishments to Reagan's SDI, known colloquially as Star Wars—about how the Soviets broke off talks, how they would resume the talks after a break, how the Soviet position on linkage between SDI and 50 percent cuts in offensive weapons evolved, and so on. The Americans, however, having announced that they were beginning to put the program into effect, set about doing so. Only once was there a kind of outburst. In one of his speeches, about ten years ago, President Reagan stated that if the USSR agreed to the idea of SDI, then America would be ready to share the technology for forming an anti-missile shield, and that if everyone was well-defended then nobody would want to attack. But President Reagan was very quickly put right. He never took the idea of transferring American technology to the USSR any further.

But what is SDI? Simple: an anti-missile system with parts of it deployed in space. The United States has on many occasions said that strategic defense is a key element in its military policy. The space-based parts would be deployed when ready, if their deployment was economically efficacious. The United States used to persistently propose shifting completely away from the idea of nuclear deterrence and moving over to strategic defense, not only against each other but also against possibly reckless dictators or accidental launches. It looks as if Russia is beginning to lean towards this idea, and at the highest level. President Yeltsin's statement incorporated even joint development, joint creation and joint operation of a global defense system in place of SDI.

It is premature to predict events in this sphere. However, it is fairly unlikely that the United States will be quick to change its policy of not even allowing its closest NATO allies access to the most important SDI research results. So there is hardly any chance of the Americans changing their position after numerous announcements by Russian politicians about how we no longer see the United States as our enemy. There is much more to cooperation in high technology than initially meets the eye. It is not only a matter of national security or political cooperation. It is also a matter of competitiveness of one's economy. It is much harder today to find points of contact between the United States' and Russia's economies and technological levels than to develop even the most complex of political decisions.

U.S. Role in Warhead Fuel Conversion Noted

924P0052B Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Jan 92 p 4

[URAL-AKTSEPT report: "What Is Being Talked About in the City"]

[Text] GLAZOV. The Udmurt village is managing to do without rubles and without coupons for the time being. Here, the most usual type of "currency" is a goose. It is equivalent to five packs of Prima cigarettes or a bottle of vodka. The rate of exchange of a goose is rising rapidly.

KYSHTYM. Four senators from the United States have arrived at the closed city of Chelyabinsk-65. They expressed a desire to finance the completion of construction of a complex intended for the manufacture of uranium-plutonium fuel obtained from our warheads for nuclear electric power stations.

Problems in 'War Gases' Elimination Considered

LD3101141292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Commentary by military correspondent Mikhail Umanov—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The current session of the conference on disarmament continues drafting an international convention to ban chemical weapons. The problem of eliminating war gases is again in the focus of public attention. Commentary is by military correspondent Mikhayl Umanov:

Our experts say that given a definite correction in the positions of the parties concerned, a convention may be signed by the end of the current year. This is at any rate more realistic than the beginning in the near future of the elimination of our chemical arsenals, which have, by different estimates, from 40,000 to 50,000 tons of war gases. [sentence as heard]

The elimination must begin no later than on 31 December 1992, according to the agreement with the United States, which, though, has not yet been ratified by this country.

We're facing rather serious difficulties in this sphere; among them is the absence of specialized enterprises to destroy chemical weapons, no (?sites for their construction) and operation, shortage of ecologicallly reliable technologies and other problems, but the absence of a state policy and state decisions are the main problems.

The former Soviet Union has not managed either to adopt or, the more so, to begin to carry out the state-developed program to eliminate chemical weapons.

Today all chemical weapons are stored on the territory of Russia and, as one can judge, the Russian authorities are ever more concerned over them. Late last year all the aspects of the matter were discussed at the Russian parliament, and now a special committee has been created involving managers, chemists, military and other experts. This provides hope that our long-term and stable political orientation to the complete elimination of chemical weapons in the near future will begin to be implemented, obviously, with a definite share of participation offered by some republics. Western assistance would also be helpful.

The Russian foreign minister military adviser Geliy Batenin believes that such assistance could be expedient in the following directions.

[Batenin is heard briefly, fading into English translation] We need assistance in ensuring a better ecology. We didn't pay enough attention to this—the technical sponsoring of all our programs by the engineer and technical personnel and experts of the West, first of all the United States. We need money, hard currency, to buy some know-how elements, equipment, most likely in the United States, too. [sentence as heard] Maybe part of those $400 million set aside by the United States for assistance in eliminating nuclear weapons would involve chemical weapons.

Emergency Aid to CIS To Be Monitored

92GE0209A Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Jan 92 p 6

[Article by Guenther Gillessen: "For NATO Primarily a Matter of Transportation: 'We Know Something About Logistics'; Western Aid for CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Countries"]

[Text] Brussels—Very soon uniformed NATO communications officers will be traveling to several major cities in the former Soviet Union to set up satellite communications links with headquarters in Brussels. Through this dedicated NATO communications network from Russia and the other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states, NATO officers will handle all communications involved in the West's emergency aid for the civilian population, using telephones, faxes, and direct computer-to-computer data transmission to direct the shipments of food and medicine. This is necessary because Russian authorities made it clear at their very first meeting that today they cannot, with their own resources, set up and operate in a timely manner an adequate communications link with the West.

On 16 December the EC Council of Ministers decided to provide aid to the states of the former Soviet Union. On 19 December the NATO foreign ministers instructed NATO Secretary General Woerner to plan and organize the shipment of Western aid to Russia and the other republics. This Wednesday and Thursday, 22 and 23 January, a conference of foreign ministers will be held in Washington (Coordination Conference on Assistance to the New Independent States). This will be attended by representatives of over 45 countries (mainly from the OECD), the EC, the United Nations, NATO, and international private aid organizations. At the same time, working groups are discussing the details of how to supply food and medical aid as well as technical aid, housing construction, and energy. While this list shows that Western help is not limited to emergency aid, NATO is involved only in the shipment of food and medical aid.

Effective Apparatus

Secretary General Woerner has ordered that NATO not compete with aid being provided by individual nations and private organizations; it will concentrate on the tasks it is best suited to carry out. "We know something about logistics," say officers at NATO Headquarters. Indeed, the organization possesses experts, plans, computer programs, transport, and well-oiled ties with private trucking firms, railroads, airlines, and shipping firms. Armed forces that are prepared to equip armies from civilian production can also be used to supply civilians. The Gulf war provided dramatic proof of the effectiveness of the Western allies' military supply apparatus.

On 16 December the EC Council of Ministers earmarked 200 million ecu's [European currency units] for food and medical aid to the states of the former Soviet Union; the food will come from the EC's own stocks. Of this, 5 million ecu's was to go for emergency aid for Moscow and St. Petersburg. By the end of December, trucks and Canadian and German Air Force planes had already delivered 500,000 tonnes of meat, 1,000 tonnes of powdered milk, 2,500 tonnes of butter, and quantities of drugs. The other 195 million ecu's will be used to provide supplies in January and February.

Even before the end of December, Russian authorities had asked the EC not to ship by air—fast but expensive—so that more of the funds could be used for actual goods. Early in January an advance team of NATO officers and experts visited Moscow and returned with a Russian wish-list of 2.5 million tonnes of meat, 1.5 million tonnes of sugar, 330,000 tonnes of animal fat and butter, 220,000 tonnes of powdered milk, and 160,000 tonnes of plant oil. That was approximately 20 times more than the EC's 200 million ecu's would provide. There seems to be no way the EC can provide food in such quantities. Even though the Washington conference is being billed as a "coordination conference," the organizers nonetheless hope that more countries will promise more aid there than they have so far.

NATO experts doubt that the need for food is as great as officials in Moscow say, because the shortages are due not to a decline in production but to the collapse of trade between the republics and the disappearance of the ruble as an accepted means of payment. Fear of shortages is making the republics of the former Soviet Union behave like an individual who has produced or managed to buy something and is now hoarding it in the hope of bartering it later. The hoarded agricultural products could well have spoiled by February.

Distribution Has Broken Down

Not a single republic, not even Russia, has a central authority capable of operating an effective distribution system, say NATO officials. Instead, many organizations are simply distributing goods on their own authority, legitimate or not—governments, parliaments, political parties, Economics Ministries, other ministries, the KGB, the Defense Ministry, the Armed Forces, municipal authorities, private organizations, criminal gangs, private entrepreneurs, and the Orthodox Church. The police and KGB are so corrupt that they cannot be trusted to distribute the food. NATO officials add that the West must give enough publicity to its aid to ensure that no institution entrusted with its distribution can monopolize it for political purposes. Although the former Soviet Armed Forces do possess the sole remaining nationwide [as published] organization, even they are by no means immune to corruption and temptation. If asked to distribute supplies, the Armed Forces might divert them to their own families. NATO officials warn that a large portion of the Western aid sent to Romanian orphans in 1990 found its way into the homes of orphanage workers and their families. To expect anything else would be naive.

It is out of the question that NATO troops should control the distribution of the food and medical aid through to the final recipients, much less use armed force to protect it against theft. The soldiers cannot be asked to do that and the authorities of the new states cannot be expected to tolerate it. It will have to be up to the new states to take delivery and distribute the goods, say NATO officials. However, of course, the NATO communications officers will be able to stay in touch with the representatives of private Western aid organizations operating in the former Soviet Union—these include the Red Cross, Care, Caritas, Red Barnet, Medecins Sans Frontieres [Doctors Without Borders]—and take note of what they observe in the course of their distribution efforts. The NATO advance team gained the impression in January that the new states would like the NATO troops to work in uniform. Everyone—especially the most questionable converts to democracy—wants people to see that the West is working with those in power and recognizes them. A year ago, when the Bundeswehr first took responsibility for food shipments to Moscow and Leningrad, the situation was very different. The Soviets did not want German soldiers to be seen. They handed the supplies over to Soviet troops in Germany or at most they might unload a ship or an airplane.

The EC has now decided that a large part of the aid shipments will be auctioned off to be sold in stores, with the proceeds going to a fund to provide aid to the most needy. These are estimated at 60 million—mainly pensioners, the unemployed, and their families, who must buy their food in stores and do not, like the majority of the population, receive supplies at their place of work, along with hot meals. Enterprises still appear to be able to acquire and distribute food to their employees.

It is hoped that selling through stores will encourage the creation of a market economy and get around the old system of privileges in food distribution. The only ones truly in need are those without work, particularly in the major urban areas. The authorities of the new states have put 35 cities, mainly in Russia, on the list for the aid. Among them is Ekaterinburg, the home of Russian President Yeltsin.

Pragmatists' Concerns

Ukraine needs no food but, like the other states, would like medicine. The NATO advance team brought back from Moscow a list of Western drugs with which doctors in the former Soviet Union are familiar. Only those will be sent. A large portion of the drugs sent to Armenia two years ago after the earthquake was thrown out because local doctors were unfamiliar with them. NATO has therefore taken on the additional task of serving as a clearinghouse for drug orders from the former Soviet Union and coordinating shipments with Western donor organizations and institutions.

The enthusiasm which NATO officers felt in December at the foreign ministers' orders has since yielded to a more sober view. NATO is not looking for new missions, says one headquarters officer. Soldiers, says a senior British general, hate to shoot and, a German general adds, they also hate missions that they cannot carry out successfully. That sums up the skepticism at taking on a very difficult supply mission and one which the NATO troops cannot control all the way through to the distribution to the final recipients.

NATO Secretary General Woerner views the mission primarily in political terms: the West must give help now to nurture the seeds of democracy in the former Soviet Union, they must not be allowed to be swept away in bread riots. The pragmatists are more concerned that NATO will overreach itself with this aid operation and that any failure will then be blamed on the "West."

Nor is the NATO mission politically uncontroversial. Most of the allies support it, including the Americans, British, and Germans. However, French officials would rather see the hoped-for success redound to the EC's credit, rather than NATO's. In fact, it is up to both of them.

No Strategy for Western Assistance Formulated

924C0477A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 5, 29 Jan 92 p 9

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Edgar Cheporov: "Blessed Are Those That Hunger For They Are Insatiable: The 'Bombing' of Russia Will Commence in Five Days"]

[Text] Washington—It is the first time that the Western powers have debated the problem of economic assistance to the former Soviet Union at so representative a gathering—delegates of 47 countries took part in the conference "sponsored" by Washington.

But they still did not formulate a strategy of Western assistance. The dimensions of this assistance will remain modest for the immediate future. It was mainly a question of humanitarian measures, which, in my view, failed to justify the hopes of those who were expecting of the American leaders and their partners support for the reforms in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] on a larger scale.

The Washington conference revealed plans to assist the members of the CIS in the medical, food, housing, energy, and technical spheres. New "donors" emerged. Oman is prepared to make $200 million available. Thailand, $450 million as a loan, South Korea, $800 million, as a loan also. Saudi Arabia, which suspended assistance at the time of the August putsch, has "unfrozen" its $1 billion also. President G. Bush announced that he would be asking Congress for an additional $645 million for humanitarian assistance.

The transfer of food to Moscow and other cities by American Air Force planes is scheduled for the start of February. This "air bridge" will last for a week. It is being compared here with the "bridge" of the times of

the 1948-1949 Berlin blockade. But at that time American planes flew for months and around the clock at that. We will now be delivered food left over following the war in the Persian Gulf. The use-by date of some of these products is fast approaching, and, as has become known from official sources, they would very soon have been destroyed. The meaning of this candor is clear: A presidential election campaign is in progress, and the administration does not want to scare the electorate and wants it to know that the sacrifices which America is making are not that great. You could not call this circumspection excessive. Opinion polls say that more than one-third of Americans are certain that the United States is helping the former USSR "too much."

Many of Washington's partners are of the directly opposite opinion. They are questioning America's right to coordinate the process of aid to the CIS. The American contribution, they declare, is not that great. Figures are given—the United States' assistance to the CIS does not exceed $5 billion, and credit for the purchase of American grain, that is, loans which we will still have to pay off, constitutes a large part of it, what is more. Germany's contribution, on the other hand, is many times greater than America's and amounts to 57 percent of all Western aid. Perplexity has been expressed also in connection with the fact that Washington did not invite to the discussion representatives of the former Soviet republics. "There are too many doctors at this consultation," it was observed here, "but no patient...."

The Washington conference testified that the West has still to determine the actual scale of appropriations for assistance to the economic transformations in the CIS. There is currently no clarity on this score. The authors of some theories are proposing that assistance to the CIS be confined to a few billions, others are calling for several tens of billions to be spent annually, for which they are gaining a reputation as "spendthrifts and profligates." But these are the estimates of Helmut Schlesinger, president of the German Bundesbank, a figure with the reputation of a conservative: investments in the economy of East Germany last year amounted to $87.5 billion, and even more will be spent in the present year. The German financial expert cited these figures in order to say that the figure of $30 billion in annual assistance to the former USSR, which is frightening many people, is small.

Another problem which the West has not resolved is when to embark on more extensive assistance than currently and how to make sure that the reforms have finally "taken" and that capitalist money and resources will not be trivially consumed on food and drink and, what is most important, will not be used for the good of the bureaucracy, which is resisting its departure from the scene.

EC Foreign Ministers Discuss CIS Relations

LD0402060192 Moscow TASS in English 1439 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Text] Brussels February 3 (ITAR-TASS)—The development of relations with former republics of the Soviet Union is in the focus of the EC session at foreign ministers level, which opened here today. The European Community wants to conclude agreements with CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] members, ensuring closer economic and political cooperation with them.

On recommendation of the European parliament, the ministers plan to discuss problems linked with the perfection of the mechanism for granting humanitarian aid to CIS nations. The European parliament deems it expedient to deliver food products not only to Moscow and St. Petersburg, but also to other regions, now experiencing a shortage of food.

Today's meeting will also discuss another important topic - the progress of negotiations between the European Community and the European Assosiation of Free Trade on the establishment of a European economic space. The European Court objected to the initialling of the already drawn up agreement, because it believes the document endangers the common legal norms, accepted in the economic community.

U.S. Farm Leaders on Cooperation With CIS

924A0497B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 22 Jan 92 p 5

[Article by TASS correspondent S. Kuznetsov: "American Farmers Intend To Cooperate"]

[Text] New York, 21 January—The children and grandchildren of present-day American farmers should not be apprehensive about losing a market for sales in the former Soviet Union as a result of the rapid progress of agriculture in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. This opinion was voiced by Alan Holliman [name as transliterated], a research associate of the Soviet Studies Center of the University of Kansas. He spoke at the annual convention of the American Federation of Farm Bureaus, the largest organization of farmers and their family members in the United States, which came to a close in Kansas City, Missouri.

The American specialist noted that Americans have difficulty conceiving of the degree to which basic infrastructure is unavailable in the CIS. In particular, he pointed out the underdevelopment of banks and exchanges, as well as the absence of a legal basis for resolving contract disputes.

Holliman maintained that "there is little difference between farmers and agricultural workers. Incentives for performing work are absent."

"However, the people need the certainty that no change of policy will occur in their country more than anything else. The people retain collective memories of friends and relations who were sent to concentration camps for their convictions," believes the American specialist.

Nonetheless, Holliman believes that the United States should provide assistance to the new Commonwealth. "It is worthwhile to contribute to these efforts because the price of failure may be very high," stressed Holiman.

John Oades [name as transliterated], a wheat sales specialist from the company U.S. Wheat Associates who spoke before the farmers, expressed the opinion that next year Russia will need to increase grain purchases in the United States. If grain is used up this year to provide bread to the population, a shortage of cattle fodder will develop, and cattle will have to be slaughtered. This means that the shortage of meat will increase next year, noted Oades.

Robert Gallagher, a representative of the American Association of Soybean Producers, stated that prospects are good for increasing the delivery of this crop to CIS countries. He stressed: "However, we cannot trade until the currency becomes convertible."

Dean Kleckner, president of the American Federation of Farm Bureaus, who addressed the audience, also pointed out that the nonconvertible ruble continues to be one of the main obstacles to expanding the delivery of American farm products to the former Soviet Union.

At the same time, the head of the farmers' organization came out in favor of the absolute provision of humanitarian aid to Russia. He stressed: "At present, considerations of a humanitarian and general economic nature compel the United States to participate in providing aid to the Russians. Besides, even if we disregard considerations of a humanitarian nature, stability in the CIS benefits us. The Soviet people will make a more orderly and fruitful transition to a free-market economy. This will undoubtedly contribute to reinforcing peace throughout the world."

Prospects for Black Sea States Accords Viewed

924C0533A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by Boris Shmelev and Alla Yazkova, doctors of historical sciences: "First Steps of a Political Alliance"]

[Text] The idea of the creation in the Black Sea region of a belt of cooperation and good-neighborliness was born on the frontier of the 1980's-1990's under the conditions of the ending of the "cold war," the continued division of Europe and the disintegration of totalitarian structures in our country and Eastern Europe.

A trend toward the development of subregional interaction in the areas and spheres where real mutual interest is predominant, and where contradictions are less acute, is becoming increasingly noticeable. An example of this is the "Alps-Adriatic" structure uniting lands and provinces of Italy, Austria, Croatia, Slovenia, FRG and Hungary. Regulated by the appropriate commissions, their cooperation encompasses transport, the handling of port cargoes, environmental protection, tourism, science, culture and sport. Monitoring stations inspecting the level of pollution of the Adriatic are operating, a tunnel through the Alps is being built and industrial cooperation is developing.

Russia, like the other republics of the CIS also, together with Romania and Bulgaria, has for a number of reasons found itself outside the structures of subregional cooperation. All the more promising for it would seem to be the "Black Sea Initiative" presented in April 1990 by Turkish President Turgut Ozal. The idea of the creation in the Black Sea region of a zone of active economic cooperation and a belt of peace and good-neighborliness was born in the process of Turkey's search for stronger positions in Europe and also as a possible factor of stabilization of the situation in Balkans and the Transcaucasus, which is developing unsteadily and which is fraught with the danger of negative consequences.

The realization of accords today is impeded not only by the narrowness of the practical possibilities of Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Romania and Bulgaria, which are going through a difficult period of transition from totalitarian to civilized societies, but also by the presence in the region of serious interethnic and interstate contradictions. The initiative of individual provinces, regions, districts, large cities and entrepreneurial structures is becoming increasingly ponderable and essential in the Black Sea region under these conditions. Krasnodar Kray could and should be the outpost of such cooperation in Russia.

Becoming today our new window on Europe and essentially the sole outlet to the Black Sea, Krasnodar Kray is the equivalent in terms of its parameters of Austria and is far superior to a number of other European countries. The abundant natural resources, the presence of warm-water ports in the Black Sea, an outlet to the Mediterranean countries, the agrarian-industrial orientation of the economy and its advantageous geographical location ensure its promising role as a food, export and recreational base of Russia.

A scientific-practical seminar which examined the socio-political and economic problems of the development of the region and possible paths of their solution was held last December in Krasnodar on the initiative of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of International Economic and Political Research and supported by the International Humanitarian Initiatives Foundation.

With regard for the disintegration of the Union and the emergence of new Black Sea states—Ukraine and Georgia—the seminar voiced the opinion as to the need for the conclusion with them by Russia of treaties on the joint use of the Black Sea Merchant Fleet and the ports.

The idea of the creation of an association of members of parliament of all the Black Sea countries, which would contribute to confidence-building between states of the region and their conversion into a zone of good-neighborliness and cooperation, was put forward.

When the Issue Was Being Put Together.... Istanbul, 30 January (ITAR-TASS)

—A meeting of representatives of the states participating in the elaboration of the draft Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone (BSECZ) will take place here on 3 February at foreign minister level. Delegations of Turkey, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Romania and Bulgaria will take part. The participation of a representative of Moldova is expected also.

The leaders of the foreign policy departments will initial the text of a treaty on the creation of the BSECZ, which will then be forwarded for ratification to the legislative bodies of the parties to the draft. Questions of an expansion of trade and economic relations in the Black Sea region, including prospects for the development of border trade and also a number of international problems, will be discussed in the course of the meeting in Istanbul.

Gorbachev Soon To Begin Tour of Europe

LD0402204992 Madrid TVE Internacional Television in Spanish 1930 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Gorbachev has disappeared from the Russian political scene, but what is the ex-Soviet leader doing? What are his thoughts about the situation in the countries of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]? What are his future plans? This morning the ex-president of the former Soviet Union received a group of Spanish journalists, including our colleague Matias Prat. Among other things, he told them that he would be visiting Spain shortly:

[Moscow correspondent Lucia Oliva] Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said today that the situation in the country is much worse than he expected following the disappearance of the Soviet Union. According to Gorbachev, the liberalization of prices has been catastrophic, and he criticized Russian President Boris Yeltsin for not previously having decreed the passing of property into private hands. The former Soviet president also said that measures are necessary to protect society, and above all the peasants, during the changes. He confirmed, however, that he does not intend to pass over to the opposition.

Addressing a group of Spanish journalists, Gorbachev said that other problems have worsened, including the crisis in the Army and that regarding the nationalities. One month after his resignation as USSR president, Gorbachev admitted that with his perestroyka he wanted to do away with the Stalinist system and to create a democratic state. However, his mistake had been to believe that with democracy he could maintain the former unity of the country. All these topics will be contained in the book that Gorbachev is now writing, while in his position as president of a study foundation through which he aims to contribute to resolving his country's problems.

In a few weeks' time, Gorbachev will begin a tour of Europe that will include Spain. Thus, he said, he wants to take up the invitation extended to him by King Juan Carlos and Felipe Gonzalez, whom he praised extensively.

Bessmertnykh Views Relations With U.S.

LD0202191292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Interview with former USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh by Artem Borovik; place and date not given; from the "Top Secret" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Bessmertnykh] [passage omitted]

[Borovik] Some independent American observers describe the period when Shevardnadze was USSR foreign minister and you were ambassador in Washington as the golden days in Soviet-U.S. relations, when the level of trust between Moscow and Washington was at its high point. How does the level of trust between Moscow and Washington stand today? You were able to call Baker, or even the President, at practically any minute of the day or night. I believe Baker was even godfather to your son?

[Bessmertnykh, laughing] Well, indeed there was real pleasure in Washington at the fact that for the first time in history the son of a Russian ambassador should have been born in Washington. And perhaps this too assisted the building of trust, but it was not actually a planned act of Soviet diplomacy. My view is that for Russia, relations with the United States should remain a sphere of special interest. That is how it has always been, from early in the 19th century. And even though Russia was a great power at that time and the United States as such did not exist, the United States has always been a subject of close interest for Russian diplomacy.

We we need to maintain this as something very important, because in the final analysis, in the military-strategic sense, the situation has not changed particularly. Trust is an instrument—it is a characteristic of relations and at the same time an instrument for forming those relations. When I was minister, Baker and I had no problems on this score. I could call him at any hour of the day or night.

[Borovik] It is my understanding that last June in Berlin he warned you that the putsch was being prepared. In other words, he knew more accurately than you did.

[Bessmertnykh] Yes, in June, er ...

[Borovik, interrupting] So how is it to be explained that Americans know better what is going on in our country—and particularly in economic affairs—than we do ourselves?

[Bessmertnykh] You know, there are also some things we know quite well about the United States which they themselves might sometimes have no idea about. But in recent times we have opened up a lot. We have gone in for a great deal of analysis, and in that sense have helped ourselves much more.

[Borovik] Were CIA forecasts on the Soviet Union not in their time more useful and important economic documents for the Soviet leadership?

[Bessmertnykh] Well, whatever the case, they were always very interesting to read, for instance, forecasts ...

[Borovik] But were they true, as distinct from ...

[Bessmertnykh] Very often they were indeed more accurate ...

[Borovik] As distinct from the Central Statistical Directorate, the CIA had more accurate information [laughter].

[Bessmertnykh] That sometimes was the case. For instance, forecasts made by the CIA and other U.S. agencies concerning our annual harvests urgently found their way on to the desks of our ministers of agriculture, since that was a way they could find out what awaited us, given that the statistical summaries sent in from particular oblasts or regions were not always sufficiently objective.

I want to tell you that there were quite a number of situations in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in which we provided one another in great confidence with information about threats of one sort or another arising, perhaps to a president or someone else. This was a two-way process, and such occasions did occur. Under the new level of trust, we exchanged information of this kind. Or there was also information which came our way concerning disaster events—natural disasters—which could threaten the United States. I know that we warned them about the San Francisco earthquake before it happened. Our scientists had calculated it, but we conveyed the information to the American leadership in, let's say, a delicate way, since this was something which could have a bearing on the situation in the country, which might cause panic, and so on. So exchange of delicate information is something going on constantly between us, and that includes terrorist acts that are under preparation.

[Borovik] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, tell me frankly, when you were working in your office in Washington at the time you were ambassador, or when you were at home, were you more afraid of CIA bugs or of KGB ones? Be honest.

[Bessmertnykh] Well, I will tell you frankly that, for instance, having spent 10 years sitting in an office which had not a single window and only one door and where there was the constant hum of anti-bugging devices, the thing that was uppermost in my mind was, how shall I put it, that what went on in that office should not become available to the, er, external factor, rather than the internal one. It seemed to me that we were always beset by the sense of risk of a possible leak of information to the outside. This concerned keeping codes and keys and so on safe. So we all lived in a constant state of unceasing alert.

When I became ambassador in Washington I returned to the embassy where I had worked earlier. And it happened, it was like a discovery, when all the windows which had been sealed for the past 25 years—reception rooms and the rest had all been sealed—I gave an instruction for windows to be opened for the first time in a quarter of a century. And our people discovered to their surprise that there was daylight and sunshine, and when it came in life somehow felt better, though the office itself as before remained a bunker with all manner of metal boxes. I do not actually know how we got by, working quite often round the clock for many years.

I do not think that there can be total and absolute openness and confidence, because even among, let's say, NATO allies or members of other alliances, there is always the feeling of wanting to keep something for oneself. I am talking in the main about commercial secrets, though including some political ones too, of course. And so I think things will continue to work like that; but we should not take things to absurd extremes.

[Borovik] When you were ambassador, did you always have ideal relations with the intelligence station chief [rezident], in Washington, let's say, or were things different at different times?

[Bessmertnykh] They were different at different times. That was because there were different people who came and went and who differed in their degree of what we might call arrogance; some intelligence officers considered that they bore the highest responsibility, so to speak, for safeguarding the state's interests, and took every opportunity to make this point. But actually this mainly concerned the middle rank, some less able middle-ranking intelligence officers who believed they belonged to some lofty state elite and often disclosed their position to those whom at that time we called the adversary, by this way they had of drawing attention to themselves.

Unfortunately there was more than one occasion when conflicts arose within the embassy over who was subordinate to whom, even though the task of the ambassador and the station chief was to insure that as far as possible this problem did not arise. This was not always possible, and on some occasions ambassadors had to be recalled, on others stations chiefs; instances of one or the other case did occur, when they just could not get on with one another.

[Borovik] Were there cases of a station chief writing to Moscow to complain about you, for instance, about how you were doing things?

[Bessmertnykh] Well, I do not know. I would think that ...

[Borovik] But did you not have the right to see KGB communications, let's say between Washington and Moscow?

[Besssmertnykh] No, they have their own communications channels and ... I just cannot comment on your question. In the first place, I do not think there would have been any reason for such a thing, but in any case if anything of the sort had happened, then of course as ambassador I would have found out via the leadership of the country, from the government. [passage omitted]

No More Weapons to Afghanistan as of 1 Jan

LD0102152192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1906 GMT 28 Jan 92

[From the "Mirror" program; unidentified announcer]

[Text] [Video shows helicopters, missiles, machine-guns, armored vehicles and troops conducting operations in mountainous terrain] [Announcer] As of 1 January this year no more weapons are arriving in Afghanistan from the territory of the former USSR or from the United States. This is the first real step that has been taken toward a settlement since February 1989 when the last Soviet soldier left Afghan territory.

Why have no serious accords been reached with the Americans over Afghanistan since that February? Why did the Soviet Union step up military supplies to the Kabul government which already had a much more powerful military potential than the mujahidin?

[Army General M. Gareyev, head of group of Soviet military advisers in Afghanistan 1989-90] Let us say quite frankly that there was no confidence that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan would be able to withstand this new pressure from the mujahidin, especially since if you recall that, even with the presence of the 100,000-strong group of Soviet troops, great difficulty was encountered in resolving these tasks and rebuffing the attacks of the mujahidin. [video shows Soviet aircraft, Najibollah presenting a medal to a Soviet serviceman]

[Announcer] Even the precariousness of the position of the Kabul government did not cause the Soviet leadership, after the withdrawal of the troops, to radically review their staking on a policy of force in Afghanistan and to begin a full-fledged dialogue with the United States to end the war in the neighboring country. Evidently it was still hypnotized by the former ideas that a fraternal party was in power in Kabul.

[Colonel A. Morozov, KGB deputy resident in Afghanistan 1975-79] Our credo was expressed, I recall, by Boris Nikolayevich Ponomarev, who for many years was a candidate member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee, during an official visit to Afghanistan. We must support the Afghan revolution because it is proof that the revolutionary process is going on in the world.

This happened only three years ago, two years, even, when the troops were withdrawn. Our famed party apparatus was in power. It still believed that it would stay in power here and that it was also its task to keep in power a similar party in Afghanistan. That is the explanation for everything. [video shows Najibollah conferring with officers, a military control center, Afghan street scenes, Afghan irregular soldiers]

[Announcer] According to Aleksandr Morozov, the KGB and the Main Intelligence Directorate of the Defense Ministry constantly fed disinformation to the country's leadership, including President Gorbachev, saying that the Mujahidin were nothing more than reactionaries who threatened the interests not only of the Kabul government but also those of the USSR.

[Reserve Major General L. Shershnev, president of the National and International Security Fund and frequent visitor to Afghanistan during the Soviet incursion] Even the withdawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was carried out in such a way that we tried to cause as much damage as possible to the opposition and to weaken them as much as possible. And here, just as on many other issues, inconsistency was displayed. And, to use a biblical term, I would even call the policy of the president, former President Gorbachev, the policy of a Judas. [video shows Gorbachev speaking on television, servicemen standing up and clapping and congratulating each other].

Literally a few days before the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan he was the one who gave the order to use the whole might of the Soviet air force to carry out massive bombing and strafing strikes against Afghan villages which were believed to contain concentrations of rebels. [video shows rockets being fired from mobile launchers]

[Announcer] The Afghan conflict was to a considerable extent a reflection of the global contradictions and rivalry which complicated relations between Moscow and Washington. For many years the United States supported the Afghan opposition.

[Professor Yu.Gankovskiy, who over a number of years had meetings with virtually all the leaders of the Afghan opposition] The halting of deliveries from the United States will create certain difficulties for it but no more than that, because it is not the United States but Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the oil producing Arab Gulf principalities, Iran, and certain other interested sides which are the main donors to the Afghan opposition today.

[Announcer] Russia has inherited from the USSR many problems, including the Afghan problem, but the Russian leadership does not seen to have any clear ideas about Afghanistan.

[Gankovskiy] It seems to me that this can be seen from the results of the visit paid by Vice President Rutskoy to Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. This trip was incredibly badly prepared and during this trip Rutskoy was put in an awkward position on several occasions.

It seems to me that the people who are working on the Afghan side of things are doing everything in their power and sometimes even a bit more than that to cope with the tasks which they are faced with. But, in the foul-up—please excuse me for this non-parliamentary expression—that we are in they are able to do very, very little.

[Announcer] Meanwhile the fratricidal war continues in Afghanistan, a war which could have been avoided if the Soviet communists in their time had not had their eye on that country. And now Russia does not have the moral right to sit back and do hardly anything, otherwise history and the international community will call us to account—and possibly in the very near future.

Republics, U.S. To Establish Investment Bank

LD0402233592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Text] Representatives of Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Azerbaijan, and the United States have signed a protocol of intent to set up an investment bank with start-up capital of $12 billion. The bank will be called Rebirth [Vozrozhdeniye] and will be patterned after the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development. The goal of the bank is to aid the development of business in the countries of the region, the KHARKOV NOVOSTI agency reported.

Citizens 'Reveal Any Information' for Money

LD0402111592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0330 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] American intelligence officers are in a state of shock at the flow of citizens from the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] ready to do a service who are willing to reveal any information for dollars, Viktor Ivanenko, the recent chief of the Federal Security Service, stated to a correspondent of ROSSIYSKAYA TRIBUNA.

The overall collapse of our statehood is occurring, he continues. Many people have lost the support and guiding lines in their lives. They are feverishly seeking some way out, a basis for the future. A very favorable situation for recruiting people is taking shape.

Baltics

Talks on Future of Troops in Region Held

Joint Communiques Adopted

LD0402122592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1723 GMT 3 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Moscow—The Russian state delegation visited Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn between January 31 and February 2, where it held talks about the terms of deployment and withdrawal of troops from the territory of the Baltic region.

Although meetings between the Russia delegation, led by Sergey Shakhray, deputy head of the government and adviser to the Russian president for legal policy, with state delegations of Lithuania and Latvia were of a working character, the sides regarded them as the beginning of talks on working out inter-state agreements. This was recorded in the joint communiques, adopted in Vilnius and Riga.

Both documents say that it has been decided to stipulate in the future agreements the dates and order of the troop withdrawal, as well as their legal status for the period before the final withdrawal. The sides decided to start immediately the working out of the agreements. Understanding was reached that the withdrawal of Army units from Lithuania would begin in February this year, and from Latvia—in March.

Admiral Ivan Kapitanets, first deputy commander of the Navy of the Commonwealth of Independent States, who took part in the talks as an expert-adviser, told PF [POSTFACTUM]:

The work of the Russia delegation was based on the assumption that the troops of the North-Western Army Group (former Baltic Military District) and the forces of the Baltic Fleet deployed on the territory of the Baltic states, have been taken under the jurisdiction of Russia. This is why the Russian delegation assumed a tough stand with regard to the claims of the Baltic states to the property of the Army and the FLeet in that region. The Russian delegation is ready to discuss only those property claims to the military, which refer to the period before 1940. The Russian delegation discussed problems dealing with the withdrawal of the Army and the Navy from the Baltic region in the context of creating conditions for their redeployment. It will be carried out along with creating proper conditions for the servicemen in the new areas, providing them with housing, social and cultural facilities and ensuring social protection. According to the information obtained by PF, the communique deliberately does not specify the date of the termination of the troop withdrawal. In the opinion of Shakhray, which he expressed at a meeting with officers and men at the headquarters of the North-Western Army Group, the date and schedule of the troop withdrawal depend on numerous factors, for example, those dealing with security, the social protection of servicemen and pensioners of the Defence Ministry, as well as a real estimate of financial and other resources needed for carrying out the withdrawal. According to some information, the documents point out that the sides intend to discuss the terms of the turning over by Russia of certain amounts and types of armaments, military hardware and ammunition to be used for the equipment of defence units of the Baltic states.

The texts of the communiques, signed by the Russian delegation with the delegations of Lithuania and Latvia, are very much alike. However, some items are different. For example, the problem of the property of the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union became the subject of a keen discussion at the talks with the Latvian delegation. The thing is that the Latvian authorities have already adopted unilaterally some resolution on this problem. The Russian side recognized the inalienable right of Latvia only to the part of property of the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union, which belonged to the Latvian republic before 1940. The future of the remaining part of the Army property should be subject for talks. The Tallinn working meeting did little to clarify the future of the Army and naval units of the former USSR, deployed on the territory of the Estonian republic. Observers believe this was the result of the recent crisis in the Estonian Government. In Tallinn the sides just exchanged views with the republican leadership, instead of holding talks. It is planned to hold a meeting of the Russian and Estonian delegations late in February—early in March. According to PF information, Russia and Estonia agreed that many acute problems, connected with the withdrawal of troops of the former USSR from Estonia, should be resolved promptly on the government level, as well as through embassies.

Mironov on Withdrawal

LD0402173592 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga February 4 TASS—The specific timetable for the pull-out of Soviet Army units from the Baltic states depends on how the sides will define the withdrawal procedure, Colonel-General Valeriy Mironov, the commander of the North-Western Group of Troops, told journalists today.

Mironov, who is also the plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation for issues of the temporary stay and the withdrawal of troops from the Baltics, said following talks of the Russian delegation led by Sergey Shakhray in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, held last weekend, an agreement was reached that troops will begin leaving Lithuania in February and Latvia - in March.

As for Estonia, this issue was not discussed in full in view of the government crisis in the republic. Mironov emphasised the entire range of problems involved in the

stay of the Armed Forces would be solved mindful of the security interests of both the Russian Federation and the Baltic states and also the guarantees of the security and social protection of servicemen and their family members.

The date for the completion of the troop pull-out from the Baltic states was not stipulated deliberately. "We have already encountered problems generated by the rashness with which troops were moved out of East European countries. We cannot allow a situation where officers and men live in tents in the open field," Mironov said.

According to Mironov, statutory instruments infringing upon servicemen's rights have been unilaterally adopted in all Baltic republics recently and incidents involving national defence forces that could stir confrontation have occurred in Latvia and Estonia.

Mironov approached the republics' leaders with the demand that such actions should not be allowed to take place. Otherwise, "servicemens' cup of patience can overflow", he said.

Military

Kasatanov Says Ukrainian Remarks 'Provocative'

LD0402205192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1902 GMT 4 Feb 92

["Black Sea Fleet Was Called To Join Ukrainian Armed Forces"—POSTFACTUM headline; from the "Military News" section]

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian defense minister calls on the servicemen of the Black Sea Fleet to enter the Ukrainian Armed Forces. In a telegram signed on February 3, Colonel-General Konstantin Morozov, the Ukrainian defense minister, expresses his gratitude to the personnel of units and detachments who have sworn allegiance to the Ukrainian people.

Commenting upon this address, Admiral Igor Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, called it provocative. According to Kasatonov, there are no units nor detachments in the Black Sea Fleet which have sworn an oath of allegiance to the Ukraine. Besides, there were no attempts to do it, except an attempt from the part of the Second-Rank Captain Yuriy Shalyt, commander of a subdivision of patrol ships, to make his subordinates swear an oath of allegiance without knowledge of the command. On the contrary, Kasatonov underlined, 89 per cent of recruits had sworn an oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Grachev Interviewed on Minsk Council Meeting

PM0402132392 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by A. Orlov incorporating interview with Colonel General P. Grachev, first deputy commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces; place and date not given: "At the Minsk Line. From the All-Army Officers' Assembly Coordination Council"]

[Excerpts] The Central House still belongs to the Soviet Army. A fortnight after the All-Army Officers' Assembly, those who have been entrusted with representing this new organization in the Armed Forces have gathered here. There were no well-wishers or pickets at the entrance... [passage omitted]

At the Coordination Council session it could be perceived once again that servicemen do not trust politicians very much. This is true to such an extent as to prompt the apprehension that, following the Minsk meeting, the objectionable officers' assembly may simply be dispersed.

Colonel General P. Grachev, first deputy commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, does not share this view:

[Grachev] Whatever the distribution of forces and whatever the structure of the future Armed forces, no one will have the right to close down the officers' assemblies.

[Orlov] Do you think there is a chance of avoiding the disintegration of the Army?

[Grachev] Today the efforts of the Armed Forces leadership as personified by Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov and his deputies and the General Staff still boil down to preserving unified Armed Forces. But a glaring example is the Ukraine, which has already replaced three district commanders with its own. The steps being taken by the leaderships of other republics toward having their own armies are well known. All this may lead to a situation whereby only the question of joint armed forces will be resolved in Minsk.

[Orlov] According to the NATO principle?

[Grachev] Rather according to the Warsaw Pact principle. Making do, so to speak. The best option of all is of course a unified army and navy.

[Orlov] When you have joint armed forces, the main thing in military work—controllability—is evidently made more complex, is it not?

[Grachev] Undoubtedly. But I do not think that this will affect the troops which will make up the strategic deterrence forces. I would like to focus attention on something else too. Today sovereignty motives still prevail. At the same time, no one realizes how difficult it will be for the republics themselves to maintain their own armies. Even a powerful republic such as Ukraine.

[Orlov] But even Russia has a lot of problems. This includes problems ensuing from President B. Yeltsin's latest initiatives on cutting armaments and personnel.

[Grachev] Obviously we have plenty of problems today. So it is particularly important to sort them out together. As far as reductions are concerned, the command is supporting these initiatives despite all the difficulties. The arsenal of weapons, particularly nuclear and chemical weapons, which we and NATO have accumulated is, I suppose, capable of destroying more than just the planet... It is unnecessary and dangerous, and it is better to reduce it, although reduction requires huge resources. As for personnel cuts... Who today needs an army of 4 million plus? Particularly since its arsenal contains precision weapons which can strike any spot on the globe. But such a reduction is a highly complicated matter from the social viewpoint. We are taking every possible measure to ensure that officers' human rights are not violated. [Grachev ends]

Yes, today the situation in the Army is a mixture of personal, social, and state elements. Everything is tied in a tight knot which cannot be cut but can only be slowly unraveled. That is also the position of the All-Army Officers' Assembly Council. A package of documents concerning defense is being prepared for the Minsk meeting. There are at least 10 of them. Here is a list of them: a draft agreement of the CIS states on the organization of intelligence support for the CIS Armed Forces; an agreement on the creation of legal guarantees for CIS Armed Forces servicemen, servicemen released from military service, and members of their families; an agreement on the principles of recruitment for the Commonwealth Armed Forces and the performance of military service; on the legal principles of the CIS Armed Forces activity; on the principles and procedure for fulfilling the treaty on conventional weapons; a provision on the main command of the Armed Forces in the Commonwealth; an agreement on the status of the strategic forces; on the right to ratify and implement CIS Armed Forces military regulations; on the powers of the Commonwealth's supreme organs for defense questions; a provision on a council of ministers for defense of chairmen of the Commonwealth member states' defense committees [polozheniye o sovete ministrov po oborone predsedateley komitetov po oborone gosudarstv-uchastnikov sodruzhestva]; an agreement on reform in the CIS Armed Forces...

Plenty of sensible proposals. But the only thing is, are the heads of the independent states ready to hear them?

Officers Union Holds Organizational Conference

MK0402114092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by Yuliy Lebedev under the "Opposition" rubric: "Military Patriots Try To Create Interregional Structures. They Criticized Marshal Shaposhnikov and Colonel Gorbachev 1 February"]

[Text] Military patriots have of late been making vigorous attempts to set up officers' associations espousing statist [gosudarstvennicheskiy] positions.

One of these structures is the Officers' Union, which held its first interregional organizational conference in Moscow 1 February. Although the union has been in existence for just six weeks and, as was announced at the conference, the main source of funding was money from the two families acting as organizers, it already has branches operating in Moscow, Novosibirsk, Vladimir, Rostov-na-Donu, Astrakhan, and a number of other cities.

Roughly 150 delegates came to the meeting in Moscow. These were mainly career soldiers rather than reservists. "People interested in the motherland's future have gathered here," Lieutenant Colonel Stanislav Terekhov, organizer of the Officers' Union, said in his opening eport. He added that representatives of not only the Armed Forces but also the law-enforcement organs and the former KGB may join the organization.

Although the room where the conference was held was adorned with huge portraits of Marx and Lenin, the mood of most of the speakers indicates that the emergent association will hardly be the Communist movement's "Red Army."

Evidently the Union, like its organizers, moreover, will gravitate more toward the state-patriotic position, and the association's membership of the Coordinating Council of People's Patriotic Forces is no accident. Incidentally, Coordinating Council Chairman Gennadiy Zyuganov attended the conference and in his speech urged patriots—"left and right-wingers"—to save Russia, "even if it proves impossible to save the Union."

Political speeches generally dominated the conference, and the military speakers sharply criticized Colonel [as published] Gorbachev and Marshal Shaposhnikov for the collapse of the Army and the country.

However, when the club's [as published] senior secretary, Major Vladimir Kubyshko, described the gripping prospect of servicemen discharged into the reserve cooperating with nearby farms, many of those present reproached him with being biased toward "farms" and even "hogs" [v "fermerskom" i dazhe "porosyachem" uklone].

Deputy Yevgeniy Kogan even said that the Army has had enough of fence-sitting and that it is time to act. However, the union's organizers did not very much like that ardor. Stanislav Terekhov told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that he opposes extremism and "dubious individuals."

Obviously, that was why the delegates listened with no particular enthusiasm to Colonel Sergey Morozov's invitation to join the "Officers for the Revival of Russia" movement headed by KGB General Sterligov and resolved to refrain from doing so for the time being.

At present the Officers' Union, which is at the stage of organizational formulation, does not intend to establish close relations with other military movements. However, it may quite possibly in the near future become one of the most important centers of patriots' "military opposition." At any rate Marshal Shaposhnikov voiced an extremely high opinion of its main organizer, Stanislav Terekhov: After hearing the colonel's complaints against the presidents of the Commonwealth of Independent States at the conference, the marshal said that "there is room for people with those views in Matrosskaya Tishina [jail where coup conspirators are being held]."

Armed Forces Expenditure Priorities Outlined

PM0402130192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Feb 92 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General V. Vorobyev, chief of the Armed Forces Central Financial Directorate, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin; place and date not given: "Military Budget: Priority for Social Needs"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Our correspondent talks with Lieutenant General V. Vorobyev, chief of the Armed Forces Central Financial Directorate, about the military expenditures of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] for 1992.

[Vladykin] Comrade Lieutenant General, it is obvious to everyone that the military budget for 1992 had to be formed in a truly paradoxical situation. The USSR no longer exists, yet its Armed Forces have been preserved and the central allocation of funds is necessary for their maintenance. How is this contradiction being overcome?

[Vorobyev] The process of the formation of the defense budget has always been and remains extremely complex and protracted. Virtually all structures of the central apparatus of the former USSR Defense Ministry, now the CIS Armed Forces Main Command, take part in it. But the elaboration of the draft military budget for 1992 in connection with the well known changes in our society's economic and political life has been marked by particularly great tension.

By early August, the draft military budget for 1992 was ready and had been submitted to the country's central economic organs for examination and coordination. But soon there took place events after which it became obvious that it was impossible to form a Union budget and as a result there was no source of finance for expenses incurred for the defense of the territory of the former USSR. In addition, experts had already predicted and announced price rise indices for 1992. Therefore all calculations made for the military budget had to be seriously amended.

The formation of the CIS, the presence of states which had arisen in place of the union republics but had not joined the CIS, and the conservation of the Armed Forces virtually as they were before with a unified command demanded completely new approaches and principles in forming the defense budget. It was here that our main difficulties began.

When representatives of the states which had announced their independence met at the conference table, a complex situation took shape. If there was talk of dividing military property and privatizing the military establishments on the territory of these states, then everyone immediately remembered that they had invested their funds in creating and developing the Armed Forces. But hardly had the question of financing the Army and Navy in the future arisen before it was immediately stated that there was no money in the sovereign republics for these purposes. Moreover, it was indicated that in the past, the republican budgets did not itemize military expenditures.

This was the main stumbling block in reaching agreements on forming a unified defense budget for the CIS countries.

Then the Defense Ministry of the former Union, which still had its previous status, developed a system for determining the share of the independent states which had been formed in the joint financing of the Armed Forces. It contained four indicators according to which the share of each CIS state in the defense expenditure common to the entire CIS should be calculated: numerical strength of the republic's population, its national income, the GNP, and the numerical strength of the troops stationed on the territory of a given state. Then on the basis of these four indicators an average figure is produced for each republic.

In November and December 1992 [as published], the system we proposed was discussed at a conference with the defense ministers (chairmen of committees for defense questions) and finance ministers of the independent states. It was decided to calculate the overall defense budget on the basis of just two indicators: the numerical strength of the population and the national income produced, although I think that our method for determining each state's share was more accurate and fairer. Nonetheless the draft agreement on the shared participation of all independent states of the Commonwealth in defense expenditure was elaborated to include the simplified scheme of reckoning and was submitted in this form for examination by the government organs. And in early December 1991, the economic organs of these states were also sent the relevant plan documents justifying the need for defense appropriations. But unfortunately by the start of the new year these questions had not been decided through legislation and not a single state had earmarked money for military needs. A critical situation was created in the Armed Forces with regard to financing their activity.

[Vladykin] And how was a way out of the critical situation found?

[Vorobyev] Considering the urgency of resolving the tasks of financing the troops, in early January 1992 the

Russian Government earmarked appropriations for one month to pay for the money allowance of servicemen and the wages of workers and employees of the Armed Forces and also to pay for food and other urgent expenses connected with backup for the personnel.

As a result, in Russia once again defense expenses totalling 50.4 billion rubles [R] were approved. But this budget has a number of features. First, these appropriations were earmarked only for the first quarter of this year. Second, of these appropriations R42.4 billion is the share which Russia is to pay of the total sum of military expenditure. The remaining R8 billion were also allocated by the Russian Federation as an advance, since the other states have not yet taken part in forming the unified defense budget. To reform the Armed Forces, a long transitional period will be needed. Hence the financing for this period should remain unified.

[Vladykin] But after all, the Ukrainian Government has also earmarked funds for defense needs?

[Vorobyev] Indeed, in January the Ukrainian Government earmarked funds which were transferred directly to the districts and formations on the territory of Ukraine. Only not all problems of support for the troops can be resolved in that way. The Armed Forces need centralized supplies in kind for the troops in the form of clothing and related gear, food, fuel, equipment, weapons, and output for technical production and other purposes. Contracts for their supply were concluded in the past by the Armed Forces Main and Central Directorates with a consideration for the implementation of a single military-technical and social policy and the continuous material and financial backup of the Army and Navy. These principles have now been violated, but new ones have not been created.

So the formation of a unified military budget on the basis of the principles of the shared participation in defense expenditures of all CIS states without exception is essential.

Right now a draft agreement on this issue has been submitted for examination by the council of heads of CIS states. I want to hope that at the forthcoming session in Minsk this document will be examined and signed. After all, Russia cannot bear the military expenditures for all the armed forces of the CIS countries. It is also necessary to create an interstate organ within the framework of the CIS which would directly finance all Armed Forces from the funds allocated and would engage in planning military expenditure and analyzing it and which would, naturally, be subordinate to the leading organ of the CIS countries for the Armed Forces.

[Vladykin] Please tell me, Vasiliy Vasilyevich, are the funds already earmarked sufficient for the period for which they are intended?

[Vorobyev] It must be said that in connection with the change in prices, we will have to specify as early as March this year our requirement for appropriations for the first quarter of 1992. In this period we must compile an estimate of military expenditures through the end of the year, including for the second quarter, and submit it to the government and economic organs of the CIS states.

In planning expenditures for the first quarter, the forecast was that prices for food, clothing and related gear, fuel, the leasing of communications channels, other material facilities, and services would increase by a factor of three to eight. But the expenses incurred in January this year show that prices are rising more rapidly: they increased by a factor of 10-15 for food, by a factor of 10-40 for clothing and related gear, and by a factor of 10-12 for coal, gas, thermal energy, and electricity. I shall cite some graphic examples. Whereas a sailor's pea jacket cost R130 in 1991, now the suppliers are offering to produce and deliver pea jackets for the Armed Forces for R,1300 each, the cost of soldiers' Russia leather boots has increased from R52 to R1,600, the cost of a gas mask has increased from R64 to R700, and the cost of a light protective suit from R129 to R1,670. To all appearances even these prices are not the final ones.

In this connection, I should like to stress that now the attitude toward the Army is improving. Russian Supreme Soviet deputies, in examining the military budget, were extremely principled, but treated the Army's needs with understanding. And I should like to express gratitude to the Russian Federation Government and the entire deputies' corps for their painstaking work, good will, and understanding of the tasks facing the Armed Forces in this difficult transitional period.

[Vladykin] Recently a lot has been written and said about the social needs of servicemen and the unresolved nature of many social problems of the Army and Navy. How is all this reflected in the military budget for the first quarter of this year?

[Vorobyev] Much has been done in recent years, especially in 1990-91, to increase servicemen's money allowance and pension provision and measures have been taken to improve the food supply. That has somewhat mitigated the social tension in the Army and Navy. But unfortunately it must be noted that in this field, many problems have also accumulated and it is very, very complicated to resolve them rapidly, especially under the conditions of the country's very grave economic plight.

Considering the restricted economic potential, the budget for the first quarter takes account of what is of the utmost necessity for the troops and naval forces. Special attention is paid to questions without whose solution we cannot make do. Under these conditions, the social orientation of expenditure is marked. Whereas in 1990, 36 percent of the military budget was spent on the maintenance of the Army and Navy, the payment of pensions, and housing and sociocultural construction, in 1991 the figure was already 50 percent, and in the first quarter of 1992 these expenses account for about 70

percent of the budget. With a view to the speediest solution of servicemen's housing problems, appropriations for housing construction in 1992 will increase 230 percent compared with 1990 in comparable prices.

The budget for the first quarter also provides for appropriations for the implementation of additional measures to improve the material position of servicemen and military pensioners. For these questions, including a review of the norm for reimbursing expenses during official trips, we have prepared documents and sent them to the government organs for examination.

I shall also note that right now, under the conditions of the development of market relations, the work of people engaged in questions of material, technical, and financial support for the troops and naval forces is becoming increasingly substantial and complex. Therefore, we regard the establishment of fairer wages for officials employed in this field as an important avenue in our work.

[Vladykin] Now I should like to know how one extremely painful problem which arose comparatively recently is being resolved. In some garrisons, particularly remote ones, the servicemen do not receive their money allowance on time, sometimes for two or three months in succession. With what is this connected? And what is the Armed Forces Central Financial Directorate doing to rectify this situation?

[Vorobyev] We long ago foresaw the need to transfer the troops to autonomous financial provision. The processes that had developed in the country had resulted in the fact that sooner or later, problems of cooperation between military financial organs and local bank branches had to arise. Therefore we petitioned the defense minister in good time to create field establishments of the State Bank in all military districts. These banking structures were operating successfully in the groups of forces outside the former USSR and the present CIS. Having now developed the network of field banks quite widely, mainly we regularly provide military units and military organizations and establishments with money.

But where, because of a number of objective circumstances, we still have to resort to the services of local banking organs, recently there really have been instances of interruptions in the supply of cash. Such situations arise for well-known reasons: The printing press does not have time to produce paper money because of the rapidly increasing need for notes in the ruble area. Cash is now in short supply.

We have had to tackle this problem that is hard to resolve in many regions. Under an agreement with the Russian Central Bank and by way of giving its organs assistance, military transport aircraft are being allocated to deliver cash to regions where such problems have arisen.

In addition, officers of our directorate are now working in a number of military districts and studying the state of affairs there with regard to providing units with finances. We will draw conclusions from the material received and will evidently provide our conclusions and suggestions to the governments of the sovereign republics in order to ensure the concerted financial activities of the troops and of local banking establishments.

I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to the leaders of the independent states that belong to the Commonwealth. Please be attentive to the fact that servicemen have just one source of income—pay for their service. That is how they differ from the majority of civilians, who are able to earn a little extra somewhere, to engage in commerce, or to run a subsidiary farm. Therefore it will be fair to give priority to military financial organs when issuing cash.

[Vladykin] In speaking of the social aspects of military financial activity, we have somehow overlooked that part of the military budget which for a long time was larger and was considered the main part. What does it look like now, and on what specifically will it spend?

[Vorobyev] In accordance with the Law on the Budget System of the Russian Federation, R6.5 billion has been allocated to the CIS Armed Forces to pay for armaments, military hardware, and property in the first quarter of 1992. The reductions already made in the appropriations allocated in 1990-91 forced the Armed Forces to abandon a whole number of programs relating to purchases and development of arms and to concentrate appropriations mainly on the purchasing of models of armament and military hardware needed only to replace obsolete strategic arms in the troops and on spare parts to ensure the troops' daily activities.

The problem here is not just for the Armed Forces but also for enterprises of the defense complex, which are in a very grave financial position because of the sharp drop in orders and unstable funding. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and the Russian Government are concerned at this and are taking certain measures to give these enterprises financial assistance. The law that I mentioned provides for R10 billion to be allocated to funding conversion programs in the first quarter.

[Vladykin] We have been talking all the time precisely of spending on defense. That is understandable: The Army and the Navy are by their nature consumers of material assets. Nevertheless, is there any appreciable return from the Armed Forces, back into the "civilian" budget?

[Vorobyev] Mindful of the country's complex economic position, the Armed Forces make a considerable contribution to resolving many economic tasks. I will cite just a few examples. Last year, 80 motor transport battalions were sent to gather the harvest in various parts of Russia and Kazakhstan. This involved 75,000 men and 45,000 vehicles. Not to mention the additional allocation of personnel to procure potatoes and vegetables for a number of large cities. More than 20 road construction

brigades (80,000 men) have now been mobilized for road construction in the Russian Federation's Non-Chernozem Zone.

Volumes of production of consumer goods at enterprises of the CIS Armed Forces are continuing to grow within the framework of conversion. In 1991, consumer goods to the value of more than R550 million were produced—which exceeds the 1990 level by 12 percent under comparable conditions.

I must mention the fact that military units, enterprises, establishments, and organizations are building up their potential for rendering services to the population year by year. The volume of these services realized in 1991 exceeded R470 million.

I could continue this list of economic functions not characteristic of the Army and the Navy. However, I believe that there is no need for this. The Army today does not stand aloof from the acute problems being tackled by the people and makes what contribution it can to the country's economic revival.

Army Officers' Poll Results Considered

MK0502092892 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Putko; "Poll": "Sentiments in the Army Worry the Military Themselves. Some 71 Percent of Officers Advocate Restoring the USSR"]

[Text] Personnel from the Moscow branch of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions and members of the Association of Military Sociologists [AMS] polled participants in the All-Army Officers' Assembly 17 January.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Colonel Nikolay Slesarev, AMS scientific secretary, considers the results of the study representative enough: Some 5,000 officers and generals—representing all regions of the country and all branches and categories of troops—were present in the hall of the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses. We handed out 2,500 questionnaires and received 1,489 completed. By scientific standards, this gives us a basis for judging not only the sentiments of the assembly's participants, but also sentiments throughout the Army.

The following answers (in percentages) were received in response to the question: "What is your opinion of the local population's attitude toward servicemen in the region in which you serve?": Very good—4
Relatively good—56
Relatively bad—29
Very bad—7
No response—4

[Question] "Do you think that conflicts are possible in the near future in your district or region between the command of the troop units and the civilian authorities?" Already happening now—10
Quite likely—29
Not very likely—52
Totally impossible—7
No response—2

[Question] "Do you think that individual troop subunits and units may disobey the command's orders in the near future in your district or region?" Already happening now—4
Quite likely—36
Not very likely—45
Totally impossible—11
No response—4

[Question] "Do you think that the Armed Forces' so-called 'internal function' will survive over the next few years within the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries?": Yes, I do—63
No, I do not—27
No response—10

In Nikolay Slesarev's opinion, the actual situation among the troops prompts caution. We know how serious servicemen's social problems are, how many cases of injustice and tyranny there are, and how low morale and discipline have fallen. Here is the result: Almost half of the respondents believe that troop subunits could refuse to obey their command.

[Question] "In your view, what political position should the Army espouse?": The Army should wait for politicians' decisions on the Armed Forces —19
Military must have deciding say on issues of armed forces' future—79
No response—2

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Colonel Yuriy Deryugin, AMS cochairman, considers these figures the most important and alarming in the whole poll. The results of the Army's involvement in resolving political problems are well known. And there were enough calls at the conference for the future of the Armed Forces to be taken into their own hands.

The powerlessness and passivity of politicians who have for several years now asserted the need for military reform has resulted in the Army's losing faith in them. It is after all a fact that to this day we have no clearly defined military doctrine or scientifically formulated military policy, no military strategy has been formulated, and there are no laws on defense or on the status of the serviceman.

It is very important here to have a good idea of political views and passions prevalent among officers and generals. According to the poll results, 71 percent of the military men favored restoring the former unified state within the USSR's borders. Hardly any of them seriously thinks that this problem can be settled peacefully, without violence and bloodshed. Add to this the fact that 57 percent of those polled think that armed conflicts are possible in the near future between Russia and other CIS republics.

The data regarding the officer corps' attitude to politicians are also undoubtedly of interest.

[Question] "For which of the following politicians do you have the greatest sympathies? (Give no more than three names)": Nazarbayev—65
Rutskoy—36
Alksnis—29
Yeltsin—21
Baburin—12
Zhirinovskiy—7
Gorbachev—4
Kravchuk—4
Dudayev—2

[Question] "Which of the following politicians arouses the greatest antipathy in you? (Give no more than three names)?": Kravchuk—46
Gorbachev—45
Zhirinovskiy—33
Dudayev—28
Yeltsin—26
Alksnis—8
Baburin—7
Rutskoy—3
Nazarbayev—1

In Nikolay Slesarev's opinion, the officer corps does not understand or does not want to understand today's realities. Some 67 percent of respondents favor a unified CIS Armed Forces, even though nothing in this context depends on their wishes. Only 22 percent agree that substantial cuts in the Army are needed. This indicates that most officers and generals do not want military reform and are not politically or morally ready for it. The middle level in the Army is still the same; it has been virtually unaffected by the changes taking place in the top levels of the military leadership. Hence the conservatism of its views and the quiet sabotage of orders from above.

Yuriy Deryugin believes that, while remaining a powerful conservative force, the Army is emerging into the political arena—which will undoubtedly produce mighty social cataclysms. It is necessary to embark immediately on reform and transfer the Army to a professional basis in order to surmount this process. However, in order to implement reform, new organizational structures fundamentally different from the old conservative, military-official structures are needed. And if we do not embark on reform today, tomorrow will be too late.

Economic

Multilateral Economic Agreements Lauded

PM0402134992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Article by Mikhail Gusev: "Ruble With Right of Transfer"]

[Text] Russia has signed an agreement with Kazakhstan and Belarus on lifting restrictions on economic activity.

This is obviously the start of a series of similar treaties between states "doomed" to be neighbors. Having obtained real sovereignty, the former Union republics have rushed to count their riches, cutting themselves off from their neighbors with customs barriers, laws, bans, and coupons. But, so far, they have not gotten any richer. The monopolies which were carefully established over the course of many years have reminded politicians that sovereignty is good, but a respectful attitude to economic realities is better. Factory closures, plummeting output levels, and the threat of famine have forced them to make politics subordinate to economics.

Whereas in the first few days after the Belovezhskaya Forest decisions parliaments and governments were increasingly insisting on independence, when the euphoria wore off it seems that they realized that the operative word in the name of the new union was indeed "Commonwealth."

Free enterprise does not like artificial borders and it knows how to break them down. Admittedly, in so doing it loses the efficiency of which it is capable. [sentence as published] Henceforth, trade and economic relations between Russia and Kazakhstan and Belarus will be implemented within the framework of a single economic area and on the basis of mutual advantage. This seemed to be what was agreed at the outset, but each side, with sovereign privilege, drew up laws and resolutions which made a treaty more valuable than the money to be derived from overcoming arrogant republic laws. Now all kinds of economic structures and market relations themselves, having been justified by the latest temporary difficulties, have obtained legal protection from unpredictable decisions by the authorities.

The agreement obliges organs of power and administration to make exceptionally coordinated economic, organizational, and legal decisions to guarantee freedom of enterprise—the acquisition and sale of goods, their transfer, and investment in one's own territory and between states which have signed similar agreements.

Our unquenchable thirst for our own money will probably be quenched, however much this may cost republic budgets. But by reciprocal agreement a common monetary unit will be used on the territories of signatories to the agreement for settlements, circulation, credit, and other financial operations. And this unit is the ruble. And the governments and central banks of the parties to the agreement pledge to ensure the unhindered transfer of all forms of monetary funds and systematically to brief each other on volumes of credit availability, money emissions, and the state of the money supply.

Whatever organizational and legal forms an enterprise registered in a republic may have, it is fully entitled to set up a branch enterprise on the territory of a party to the agreement. Whether this takes the form of a branch, department, mission, or other separate subunit does not

matter. As long as legislation is observed. And as long as the tax regime of the country on whose territory it is doing business is observed.

Organs of power and administration agree to undertake antimonopoly work, pledge to support the new economic structures, and will "monitor" normative acts limiting the free development of market relations.

Priority in implementing bilateral contracts for goods deliveries should now be ensured with the help of a coordinated import-export policy. Particularly with regard to those goods and services which seriously affect commodity exchanges between partners in the agreement on lifting restrictions.

Additional transit payments for goods crossing sovereign territories are banned. Everyone suffered losses during the short period of willful toying with this mechanism, which was not suitable for political dialogue. Trains and vehicles were stopped, and pipeline valves turned off—but when the sums were done it all proved to be counterproductive. Goods to be exported or imported are also subject to the new procedure.

Observance of all points of the agreement is a matter for the bilateral intergovernmental commissions which are being set up.

In the opinion of experts, both here and abroad, a network of such agreements between the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states could stop the political and economic disintegration which is affecting all the new sovereign areas.

Admittedly, a number of political forces are already trying to use this sensible economic step as an argument in the dispute with their political opponents. The agreements to lift restrictions on economic activity, they responded instantaneously, are the first step in the transition from a confederation which has not yet taken shape (the CIS) to a closer state formation—a commonwealth of European and Asian states. As if those who have no desire for such a "close relationship" have not refused to sign similar agreements in favor of a kind of poverty-stricken autonomy and to the detriment of the right course—albeit a compromise course.

Agricultural Affairs

Union Council of Kolkhozes Meets in Moscow

924A0502B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Ye. Petrakov: "Farewell to the Union Council"]

[Text] A plenum of the Union Council of Kolkhozes was held in Moscow on 21 January.

In essence, two questions were asked in a short report made by I. I. Kukhar, president of the Union Council of Kolkhozes: Is the Union Council needed, and if yes, in what format?

An exchange of views brought participants in the plenum to the following conclusion: Despite the fact that the issues of kolkhozes will be resolved in each independent state by its own government, in its own manner, a common organization called upon to defend the interests of peasants belonging to collectives is necessary within the framework of the entire Commonwealth. It was proposed to name this organization the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Council of Kolkhozes and Associations of Peasant Farms. Its main task will be to ensure information and consulting activities, and provide legal services for collective farms.

Those in attendance met the request of I.I. Kukhar to relieve him from the responsibilities of chairman of the council by reason of ill health and his old age. He was warmly thanked for his involvement over many years.

Candidate of Economic Sciences V.A. Lapkin, chairman of the Borodino Kolkhoz (Mozhayskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast) was elected chairman of the CIS Council of Kolkhozes and Associations of Peasant Farms.

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 5 Feb

LD0502071792 Moscow TASS in English 0700 GMT 5 Feb 92

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 5 (ITAR-TASS)—The Coordinating Council of the Officers' Assemblies of the CIS Armed Forces has urged to sign a package of interstate treaties, promoting the establishment of civil peace, at the summit meeting of members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), due to be held in Minsk on February 14. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries the text of the appeal of the council to the peoples and parliaments of the CIS member states.

"We recognise the right of every sovereign state to the creation of the national armed forces, but we refuse to pay with our lives, with the lack of rights and suffering of our families for the actions taken by politicians. The process of building interstate relations should develop only in a peaceful way. The stability of the armed forces is the guarantee of the successful implementation of political and economic reforms," the appeal says.

The Armed Forces are waiting for political solutions, said Lieutenant General Leonid Ivashov, chief administrative officer of the CIS Armed Forces. He has contributed an article to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA dealing with the documents to be discussed at the Minsk summit meeting, which are of crucial importance for the Armed Forces. According to Ivashov, the Armed Forces are now

existing in a "legal vacuum", because the present military legislation has ceased to meet the requirements of the current situation and is running counter to the legal norms, worked out in the CIS member states. "It is new political solutions and their recording in corresponding laws, as well as a new system of military-legal acts that are needed today." The chief command of the Armed Forces is submitting for the discussion of the CIS heads of state 14 draft documents, which are to lay a new legal foundation for the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth.

PRAVDA publishes an interview with Valeriy Smirnov, master of sciences (economy) and director general of the Exinter cooperative, under the headline "Businessmen Are Going Over to Opposition". He asked the newspaper to inform the public of the convocation of an extraordinary congress of Russian businessmen. According to Smirnov, an organising committee for the convocation of the congress has been created, which should form a political opposition to the present government. Dwelling upon the reasons for such an initiative, taken by Russian businessmen, Smirnov said: "more and more Russian businessmen are coming to the conclusion that their hopes for a democratic development of the country, which is the guarantee of the survival and development of business, are not coming true. The Russian Government is counting on the deepening of the split of the united country with ages-long history, because it regards this as a legal basis of its own power." A deep industrial crisis is hampering private enterprise and is making next to impossible the activities of independent entrepreneurs in the production sphere.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an article entitled "What Privatisation, Moscow Style, May Bring Us." The newspaper gives an account of what the Moscow Government is going to do to implement the privatisation in the economic sphere. According to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, the Moscow Government does not have a clear concept of privatisation, which, in the opinion of the newspaper, will bring more confusion, anarchy and hardships for the Muscovites.

The Presidium of the Russian parliament and the government have decided to lift the added value tax for public catering enterprises and to reduce it to 15 per cent for some foodstuffs, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes. On the basis of this action, the newspaper has come to the conclusion that the government is going to curtail the reform in a quiet way. "Unfortunately, the economic reform is developing as was predicted. The president got frightened by its consequences (not by a possible social explosion, but by the erosion of his own popularity) and is beginning quietly to stalemate the reform," the newspaper writes.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes that a congress of oil producers of the CIS member states has opened in the city of Tyumen, Western Siberia. "Oil producers have decided to unite, in order to try by joint efforts to save the situation in the oil and gas complex, which is deteriorating dramatically," the newspaper writes. According to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, "oil output over the past three years was 100 million tonnes less than could be expected. Some 15,000 oil wells are standing idle at the Tyumen oil field alone."

Army General K. Kobets, Russian state adviser for defence, has contributed an article to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, which deals with problems of army development and the priorities of Russia's defence policy. General Kobets expresses concern over the future of career officers, the backbone of the country's armed forces. "Officers' anxiety over their future has reached the limit. It can trigger uncontrollable processes, primarily in the units deployed in crisis areas. This is why it is high time the republics should take care of the problems facing the army and should adopt laws on the political, socio-economic and individual rights of servicemen and their families, Kobets points out. In his opinion, Russia should work out its own military doctrine. [no closing quotation marks as received]

"It is necessary to state honestly and clearly that Russia has state interests of its own, and it will defend them, using force or a possibility to resort to it. Proceeding from this assumption, we shall have to work out a military doctrine and create a Russian Army," he stresses.

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, the atmosphere in the Armed Forces worries the military themselves. It quotes the results of a public opinion poll among participants in the All-Army Officers' Conference. 71 per cent of officers support the restoration of the Soviet Union, the newspaper writes.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA also devotes much attention to the problems facing the Army. It carries an article dealing with the problem of military schools. According to the newspaper, "a single and smoothly functioning system of the training of Soviet military personnel is now on the verge of a collapse," says Colonel General N. Madurov, head of the Main Department of Educational Establishments at the Defence Ministry. In the opinion of the newspaper, this situation is the result of the stand assumed by the Ukraine, which took under its jurisdiction not only troops, but also military schools.

International Affairs

Yeltsin Expects France's Defense To Reduce

LD0502145392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] The Russian president is en route to the French capital. Replying to questions from journalists prior to his departure, he said that as a result of the talks in Paris, at least the pace of developing nuclear arsenals will decline. I am also convinced, he stressed, that France's defense expenditure will also be reduced. I think that France will agree to this after our initiatives, the Russian President stated.

Regarding the so-called brain drain, Boris Yeltsin noted that we have about 2,000 nuclear scientists who have been working for many years on these problems. In some areas, he said, we are now working to ensure that scientists do not wish to go abroad. First, we shall provide social protection, we'll increase their salaries. Second, currently under discussion are joint programs with the United States, Britain, and France in which they will be involved, including on matters of destroying nuclear weapons.

Fuels such as plutonium and uranium should not be lost, the president continued. They should be used as fuel for nuclear power stations after the nuclear warheads have been dismantled. This is a serious scientific question, and our specialists have a role to play in this.

Touching on the food supply situation, Boris Yeltsin said that measures have been taken for Russian oblasts and krays to supply food products in accordance with the agreed schedule. This question, he remarked, will be on the agenda at the meeting of heads of state of the Commonwealth in Minsk on 14 February.

France's Dumas on Yeltsin Visit, Cooperation

LD0402202392 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Khrekov]

[Text] Paris February 4 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's official state visit to France, which begins tomorrow, is of immense political importance and will help strengthen the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between France and Russia, French Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas told Russian correspondents in Paris today.

Speaking in the Foreign Press Association in Paris, Dumas informed journalists that the forthcoming talks between the French and Russian presidents would focus on political, economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries. He also said Yeltsin will receive France's highest honours. He emphasised Russia has long-standing ties with France and his country intends to maintain relations with Russia at the highest level.

Following the breakup of the Soviet Union, France considers Russia the de facto leader of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and an appropriate partner with whom it can discuss issues pertaining to the future of the European continent and international security. "On the whole, we are very interested in a coordinating centre to operate within the Commonwealth," Dumas said.

"During our recent tour of the four republics of the former Soviet Union and in talks with leaders of the four independent states, we raised issues related to the future of nuclear weapons on the territory of the commonwealth," Dumas added. "In our view, several problems have not yet been resolved. The nuclear button is now in the hands of the Russian president who gives pertinent instructions to Marshal Shaposhnikov after preliminary consultations with his partners.

"However," he continued, "some difficulties remain. The Kazakh president's statement on the right to obstruct the use of the nuclear button has introduced a new element. As for tactical nuclear weapons, the situation is clear enough here: their active movement to Russian territory is beginning.

"Regarding strategic nuclear armaments, their dismantling, as experience shows, is a very long and costly process. It can take seven to ten years. At the forthcoming talks, we will offer Russia our technical assistance in this process. One more topic of discussions is the proposal to convene a meeting of the heads of states that have nuclear weapons on European territory, which was put forward by Mitterrand last September. We hope that Russia will take the seat of the former Soviet Union.

"Until recently, we have not received an answer to this initiative from our allies who preferred to handle the problem within the framework of NATO. However, an agreement was reached in New York on the first stage of the meeting to involve France, the United States and Britain, after which it will be possible to hold a quadrilateral meeting. We hope that Yeltsin's visit will mark the beginning of an important period of discussions about the future of the European continent on the foregoing topics," Dumas observed.

He said the meeting in Moscow showed the Russian president's determination to move ahead along the path of disarmament. "In France we received with deep satisfaction that he perceived positively the French doctrine of sufficiency in the field of nuclear armaments.

"As for his initiative for creating a global defence system, it is worthy of the most thorough study. It cannot be likened to the strategic defence initiative programme, which was launched when the superpowers were in confrontation and was received negatively by France. The new idea has evolved in conditions of new relations, in the atmosphere of partnership. In our view, the essence, the content of the global defence system differs fundamentally from the SDI.

"In the run-up to the Russian president's state visit to France, some have recalled the allegedly bad reception given to Boris Yeltsin in France last year in order to cast aspersions on his relations with Francois Mitterrand. However, the Russian president recently sent a letter to the French president thanking him for the warm meeting in Paris.

"We hope that the visit, during which France and Russia will sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation and other important documents on the development of bilateral ties, will be a success and become an event of great political importance," Dumas said.

UK's Major Comments on Yeltsin, Arms Control

PM0402120992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Feb 92 First Edition p 6

[ITAR-TASS report: "News Conference Held by Yeltsin and Major"]

[Text] Britain and Russia "have made progress toward building new relations." That was how British Prime Minister John Major described the completed 4-hour talks between the two countries' leaders.

Addressing an impromptu news conference outside the entrance to his residence, where the Russian-British meeting was held, he noted that both countries have always been interested in establishing closer relations, but that now "common values—a commitment to democracy, a free economy, peace, and stability" are adding new impetus to this. John Major stated that he was glad of the opportunity to welcome the arms control initiatives taken by Presidents Bush and Yeltsin. "I expressed our resolute support for further steps toward reducing nuclear arsenals to ensure that nuclear deterrence exists at a much lower level and is based on the most stable systems," he said. "I assured him that we intend to maintain only minimum strategic deterrence forces which will threaten no one."

John Major stressed that the sides had "given important and practical meaning to the new relations." According to him, this was reflected in the Russian-British joint declaration signed today in which the two countries "committed themselves to establishing relations of friendship as partners in the international community." "We intend that this declaration will form the basis of the official treaty on relations between our countries, which will be signed in the near future." John Major gave assurances that Britain is fully resolved to aid the forces of democracy in Russia and will seek to ensure Russia's membership of the IMF and continue to play a leading role in talks on debt rescheduling. He stated that the British Government will grant export credit guarantees in 1992 worth 280 million pounds.

John Major confirmed that Britain will help Russia eliminate the nuclear weapons which are due to be cut and will send a group of technical experts to Moscow to ascertain the vital requirements in this area.

John Major wound up by saying that he had invited President Yeltsin to make an official visit to Britain later this year. "I am delighted that this invitation has been accepted," he said.

"I have perhaps nothing to add to the 10 points which Mr. Major has expounded—about what we discussed today in our conversations in small and larger groups," said Boris Yeltsin. "I would only wish to note that Russia has at last cast off the communist shackles and embarked on a civilized path of development. It sees no other path. It represents its last chance, and we will not swerve from this path—the path of democracy, freedom, and the protection of human rights and the rights of the citizen, the path of civilized market development, the path of diverse forms of ownership, including private ownership. The reform which we in the Soviet Union had delayed for around five years finally got under way 2 January this year, and it is of course progressing with difficulty. Nevertheless we declare that we have no intention of swerving from this path, despite the fact that our population, the people of Russia, will have a tough time, particularly in the transitional period of price liberalization. We are certain that by the end of this year the economy will start to stabilize, price levels even out, and living standards rise."

As Boris Yeltsin reported, he intends to carry out a "full-scale" visit to Britain in the first half of this year and has invited John Major to visit Russia in the second half of the year. This invitation has been accepted by the British prime minister.

Answering journalist' questions, John Major emphasized, among other things, that he has no doubts whatsoever that Russia under Boris Yeltsin's leadership will continue the work in the disarmament sphere, particularly between the two superpowers. For his part, the president of the Russian Federation noted that he respects Britain's stance on the question of its deterrence forces. "We do not intend to discuss this topic, let alone inflate it in the mass media," he said. Speaking about the military doctrine which prevailed in the former USSR, Boris Yeltsin pointed out that it must be altered, and "the targeting [napravleniye] of our missiles remaining after the cuts must also be correspondingly altered."

Yeltsin Tour Said To Mirror Gorbachev Approach

PM0402150792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 92 p 4

[Viktor Linnik article: "Returning From Distant Lands... Do Gorbachev's Foreign-Policy Mistakes Await Yeltsin?"]

[Text] Once again, as has been the case throughout the past seven years, it is nicer to travel to the West than to tour the former USSR. Yeltsin's speech in New York and his talks in London, Camp David, and Ottawa promised repose for the soul—unlike the wrangling with Kravchuk over the fate of the Black Sea Fleet or the need to react to the daily unraveling statehood of what is now Russia.

After all, on the very day of Yeltsin's arrival overseas, news arrived of Tatarstan's declaration of independence, of Kravchuk's demands for the removal of Russian Admiral Kasatonov from his post as fleet commander, and of the start of the latest round in the bloody and protracted battle for Nagorno-Karabakh.

So it is no surprise that the effect of distancing yourself from domestic woes is for Yeltsin (just as it was for his predecessor) like balm on a wound. Meanwhile, the security of the country which elected him president is now being decided not so much in Washington as in Kiev, Groznyy, Kazan, and Tbilisi.

Yeltsin has succumbed to the temptation which is so familiar to us from the Kremlin's previous incumbent: looking abroad for solutions to domestic problems. His entourage has concluded that the fate of the Yeltsin reforms—and consequently of the Yeltsin government—is now in the hands of the West. If the West wants to help, the presidential advisers reason, the government will survive. If the West does not want to help, the government will founder, as will its experiment of stripping the clothes from 95 percent of its own people. So Yeltsin's trip and the announcement of sensational disarmament measures which preceded it are aimed at winning Western sympathies in the hope of gaining meaningful aid for our suddenly hapless country.

Indeed, is there much economic sense for Russians in the announced cut in Russia's nuclear weapons? In the immediate future, absolutely none. At best, savings from the announced cuts will have an impact only after about 10 years. In the meantime we will have to suffer the woes of the inevitable social imbalance caused by the promised fulfillment of the disarmament "seven-year plan in three years."

This rapid round of personal diplomacy by Yeltsin had several aims. First, to raise the Russian president's prestige in the eyes of Western leaders, who were somewhat skeptical about him. Second, to win the long talked-about Western economic aid, which is now needed to ensure Russia's survival probably even more than in 1941-42.

The themes of the Russian president's talks and his speech at the United Nations were tailored to these purposes, as was his declaration—hastily issued on the eve of the trip—of his intention to cut the Russian nuclear arsenal. The tendency to make major unilateral declarations on disarmament without any preliminary studies being done with experts on the other side has become a kind of hallmark of "new thinking." Bush inherited this tradition from Gorbachev, Gorbachev from Khrushchev, and Yeltsin has clearly inherited it from all of them. These declarations are, on the one hand, a recognition of the obvious fact that both sides have built up masses of excess weaponry which is inevitably aging and will have to be gotten rid of one way or another. On the other hand, public diplomacy is called just that because it is aimed at the public and at producing the maximum propaganda effect. Bush is making his statements with an eye to this year's presidential elections; Yeltsin is making his in the hope of setting foreign-policy success against the catastrophic state of affairs at home. These proposals—made this time literally on the eve of the meeting between the two presidents—were at best discussed in the most general terms at Camp David, since experts from both countries will have to spend a long time working out the details. So no rapid progress on these ideas should be expected as a result of the talks.

The most advantageous aspect of Yeltsin's proposals from our point of view was the linkage of our cuts to cuts in the U.S. sea-launched nuclear arsenal, where the United States has an undisputed unilateral advantage. The idea of setting up a global SDI system is a revival of the old idea put forward in Washington a few years ago by Reagan, either in the heat of the moment or out of foolishness. It is good that we have finally taken him at his word.

Yeltsin's announcement of the "retargeting" of Russian missiles away from U.S. cities is not such a sensational piece of news. The Americans announced a similar measure with respect to us a long time ago—back in the days when J. Schlesinger was U.S. defense secretary. At the time, I recall, we were very indignant about it, because the targeting of military installations theoretically increases the temptation for the retargeters to carry out a first nuclear strike against the other side's missile silos.

While according the Russian president the ritual honors due to the successor to the USSR, the West is at the same time perfectly well aware that Russia is not the Union. Even Gorbachev spoke at the United Nations as president of the USSR; Yeltsin represents an imploding Russia whose external borders have been eroded. The statement that Russia, with its nuclear potential, is a superpower is nothing more than reassuring hype. You could with almost equal success consider Ukraine and Kazakhstan—whose nuclear potentials far exceed the French and British arsenals—to be superpowers.

Of course, there is no avoiding continuity. Having taken the place on the Security Council originally given to the USSR under Stalin, B. Yeltsin took a good look at the seat once occupied by Vyshinskiy. But in the entire postwar period the backdrop for contacts between Russia and the West has never been as favorable for us as it is now. We have never been so weak. "Stabilization of the reform process" in Russia directly depends on Western input—that has been unambiguously stated by both Yeltsin and Gaydar. One point should be remembered: Western governments do not have the kind of money which would be of decisive importance for us. We are not Poland or Upper Volta—the magnitudes are different. The West could not even keep Gorbachev—its best friend in recent years—in the Kremlin, so it did not grant him any meaningful economic aid. Under no

circumstances will the United States enter into large-scale aid in presidential election year—Bush would simply not be forgiven by either the opposition or the American voters. And U.S. business, which could invest money without asking the government's permission, is scared...scared of our ruin, our collapse, and our guns. The former USSR has been replaced by dozens of "banana republics." But without bananas....

Moreover, the West is watching with alarm not only the growing dispute between the sovereign states within the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] but also—with no less alarm—the protracted squabbling in the top ranks of Russian power. This is weakening Yeltsin's position in his contacts with Western leaders. No country can have real success in foreign policy without success at home. We saw enough evidence of that in the previous seven years. Moreover, the West objectively has an interest in ensuring that the CIS remains a rickety formation. The sequence in which the independent republics were recognized by the Western community shows that people want to make the collapse of the USSR irreversible.

Incidentally, in his contacts with the West Yeltsin has one indisputable advantage over his predecessor: He is the legitimate popularly elected leader of his country. Admittedly, in the Atlantic leaders' eyes even this mandate can seem very relative—something we learned from the foreign attitude to Gamsakhurdia. But Yeltsin is Gorbachev's match when it comes to charm, and considerably superior to him when it comes to resolve. But the concept of liking or not liking a leader is not a suitable one for big-league politics.

In his desire to win Western sympathy, during his tour the Russian leader has been diligently playing up the theme of Russia's liberation from "communist fetters"—something, it should be realized, in which he played a leading part. Western political leaders, of course, do have minor shortcomings, but naivety is not generally among them. That is why they are not particularly inclined in this sense to believe the former candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, who spent no less than 30 years calling for the victory of communism in his country. The Russian leadership should have no illusions on that score. So there is no point in playing this card again and again. It is patently not a trump card. Moreover, the following thesis was heard during the visit: Russia should become the bridge between East and West. But we may well ask: To what extent could the now-anticommunist Moscow serve as a bridge to communist Beijing, with whom we have a common border around 3,000 km long?

Yeltsin's tour has shown that, among all the leaders of the former Soviet republics, he seems to be winning the race for popularity in the West. Will this victory be enough to give his government stability and strengthen his position in the heightening competition within the CIS? There is no answer to that question as yet....

Solton Comments on Yeltsin's Overseas Tour

LD0302154192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] The Russian President has visited New York, Washington, and Ottawa. In New York President Yeltsin addressed the summit of the UN Security Council and also met with the leaders of some countries that took part in the summit meeting.

It seems that Russia is joining the world's leading countries, and then preserving all the best that the Soviet foreign policy has accumulated over the past years. The Russian leadership goes even further in the sphere of disarmament and in transforming its relations with foreign nations. It is good that such intentions draw a positive response. An indication to this were the talks held by President Yeltsin. Assessing the results of the meeting between the Russian and the U.S. presidents, Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev has said that the talks signify a new quality of relations between Russia and the United States and a switch from confrontation to recognition of the fact that our countries are no longer enemies, even potentially, and have friendly relations likely to turn into those of allies. According to Andrey Kozyrev this means the entire post war structure based on confrontation has collapsed.

And yet another thing, transforming its relations with Western countries Russia intends to preserve and develop its traditionally friendly contacts with Third World countries. Situated at the junction of Europe and Asia it would like to carry out an historic mission of a link between the East and the West.

While commenting on President Yeltsin's tour the foreign analysts stressed the importance of the implementation of the Russian and American disarmament initiatives. Of special interest was the proposal advanced by President Yeltsin at the United Nations Security Council summit about the creation of a global security system in outer space and on earth that could be beneficial for everybody. Some observers note that the Russian president's proposals go even further than the American ones. For instance, Moscow proposes to cut the number of nuclear warheads on strategic delivery vehicles down to 2,500 pieces while Washington only down to 4,500 warheads.

No matter who would win in the disarmament race the benefits for the universal security is obvious. Naturally Russia can carry out its good intentions only if it finds its firm feet. Some people believe that Moscow hopes to swap its measures on disarmament for the economic aid. The idea was also advanced by the CIS [Commenwealth of Independent States] Commander in Chief Marshal Shaposhnikov, who said that if the reforms slowed down or are cut short Russia and the Commonwealth could return to the totalitarianism they used to have earlier. That would mean a new arms race and a possible come

back to reprisals, which is unacceptable both for the CIS countries and the world as a whole. This is the essence of Russia's appeal to other states for economic aid and the idea finds appropriate response.

On the whole President Yeltsin's tour has helped to bring Russia's relations with other nations to a qualitatively higher level and crown the efforts taken earlier by the Russian Federation on the international scene.

Decree on Baltic Forces Jurisdiction Issued

PM0402140792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Feb 92 First Edition p 2

["Decree of the President of the Russian Federation on the Transfer of the Northwestern Group of Forces and the Baltic Fleet to the Jurisdiction of the Russian Federation," carried under the "Official Section" rubric; dated 27 January 1992]

[Text] In view of the cessation of the existence of the USSR and for the purpose of maintaining stable control and ensuring the functioning of the Northwestern Group of Forces and the Baltic Fleet, I resolve: 1. To switch the Northwestern Group of Forces and the Baltic Fleet to the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation under the command of the commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces.
2. To lay down that the activity of the Northwestern Group of Forces and the Baltic Fleet be financed out of the Russian Federation budget.
3. That a Russian Federation state delegation embark immediately on talks with delegations of the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic on questions of determining the status and arrangements for the withdrawal of troops and fleet forces from the territory of the aforementioned states.
4. To appoint Colonel General Valeriy Ivanovich Mironov the authorized representative of the Russian Federation on questions concerning the temporary residence in and withdrawal of troops and fleet forces from the territory of the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic.
5. The decree enters into force from the moment of its signature.

[Signed] Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation
The Kremlin, Moscow
27 January 1992

Decree No 52

Shakhray Holds News Conference on Baltic Talks

LD0402192992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Vice Premier Shakhray reported today on the results of his trip to the Baltic states. It is the most serious topic for the near future. The army deployed in the Baltic states is now Russian, numbering 40,000 officers and warrant officers and also members of their families.

[Correspondent G. Fadeyeva] A news conference was given today at the Russian Government press center by Vice Premier Shakhray on the results of his trip to the Baltic countries where he conducted talks on the withdrawal of troops of the former USSR. According to preliminary calculations, this action will cost 600 billion rubles.

[Begin Shakhray recording] The position of the Russian delegation was as follows: As far as the beginning of the withdrawal is concerned, everything is very simple, but the problem of the conclusion of the withdrawal was one of the issues under discussion. We did not want to repeat the experience of the former Soviet leadership. [end recording]

[Fadeyeva] The final date for the troops' withdrawal will be fixed after thoroughly analyzing such factors as the need to preserve peace and stability in Europe, guarantees for social protection, the throughput of transport, and also the nonuniform nature of the troops to be withdrawn. A question arose with regard to who should pay compensation and to whom—the Baltic states to Russia for property to be left behind, or Russia to the Baltic states for the deployment of troops. It was decided that the withdrawal will be financed from the budget of the Russian Federation. However, this issue will be tackled by taking into account the entire complex of property issues.

Regarding today's government session, to which journalists were not admitted, the vice premier answered that it was a preparation for a meeting of the Commonwealth countries which is set for 14 February. Issues relating to cooperation with Supreme Soviet committees were also discussed.

Troops Withdrawal Timetable Given

LD0402164792 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandras Budris and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow February 4 TASS—The withdrawal of troops of the former Soviet Union from Lithuania will begin in February, and from Latvia—in March, Russian Cabinet Vice Premier and State Adviser on Legal Policy Sergey Shakhray told today's news conference at the Russian Government.

Shakhray headed the Russian delegation to the negotiations held between January 31 and February 2 in the Baltic capitals.

The vice premier did not exclude that in March troops may be also withdrawn from Estonia after holding corresponding negotiations with the Estonian side.

He said the Russian delegation was guided by the Russian president's decree that the armed forces of the former Soviet Union, stationed in the Baltic states, are Russian and stay under Russian protection and jurisdiction.

The Russian side takes an obligation to observe laws of the host-states, however, proceeds from the fact the reached agreements will dominate national legislations of the sides to the agreement. [sentence as received]

Shakhray said it was stressed at the negotiations Russia takes obligations on social guarantees and payment of pensions to former servicemen currently residing in the three Baltic states.

Mironov To Represent Federation

LD0402160192 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] The decree issued on 27 January by Boris Yeltsin authorizes Colonel General Valeriy Mironov, commander of the Northwest Group of Forces, to deal on behalf of the Russian Federation with the issues of the temporary presence and their withdrawal of troops of the former USSR in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Col. Gen. Mironov made a statement to this effect today in Riga at a news conference organized for Latvian and foreign journalists. This is reported by BALTIJA-ETA.

A specific schedule for the withdrawal of troops, a procedure for the withdrawal, and the troops' status in the Baltics will be determined by agreements. When questioned about the size of the troops of the former USSR stationed in Latvia [passage indistinct]

According to the colonel general, the final deadline for the withdrawal of the troops depends on several factors. One of those is ensuring social protection for the military of the former USSR and for military pensioners. It was emphasized that the issues of the withdrawal of the Armed Forces will be resolved through strict observance of and respect for the state independence and sovereignty of the Baltic states. [passage indistinct]

Kozyrev, Turkish President Praise Talks

LD0402205492 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Yalchin Ali-Zade and Aleksandr Chelyshev]

[Text] Ankara February 4 TASS—Turkish President Turgut Ozal today received visiting Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

The sides praised the results of the Russian-Turkish negotiations in Ankara and the initialed treaty on the fundamentals of relations between the Russian Federation and the Turkish Republic.

They especially stressed the significance of the meeting of nine foreign ministers on economic cooperation in the Black Sea zone held on February 3 in Istanbul, and expressed the hope the project's fulfillment will serve to the interests of not only peoples of the region but also peoples of the Mediterranean and other countries, wishing to join the declaration initialed in Istanbul.

It was noted during the Russian minister's meeting with Turkish Premier Suleyman Demirel that the current Turkish visit of Kozyrev and the Moscow visit of Hikmet Cetin last January have made an important contribution to the formation of a new stage of friendship and cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Turkish Republic.

Demirel fully supported the Russian reforms and expressed the Turkish readiness to render comprehensive assistance to Moscow in the transition to market relations and integration in the world economy.

In the afternoon, Kozyrev visited Turkish Deputy Premier and state Minister Erdal Inonu to discuss the state of bilateral relations in the light of current changes in the two countries and throughout the world. The sides expressed mutual interest in the development and consolidation of the Russian-Turkish relations in the interests of the peoples of both countries.

Treaty 'Weighty Contribution' to Ties

LD0402193292 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Yalchin Ali-Zade and Aeksandr Chelyshev]

[Text] Ankara February 4 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, currently staying in Turkey on an official visit, today met his Turkish counterpart Hikmet Cetin to exchange opinions on areas and prospects for the development of bilateral relations, dynamics of the common European process, and ways of cooperation between the Commonwealth of Independent States and European organizations.

The foreign ministers initialed the treaty on fundamentals of relations between the Russian Federation and the Turkish Republic. The sides agreed the document will later by signed by heads of the two states.

Russia and Turkey make an important contribution to the preservation of peace and ensuring of stability not only in the region but in the whole world, stressed Hikmet Cetin.

The document initialed today will make a weighty contribution not only to the development of bilateral relations and further consolidation of peace in the region, but will also be another step in the development of processes aimed to achieve mutual confidence throughout the world, the Turkish foreign minister said.

He noted Turkey attaches special significance to its relations with Russia, which holds an important place in the Turkish foreign economic relations and with which Turkey has recently increased its political contacts.

Cetin expressed the Turkish readiness to support Russian efforts in the transition to the market relations and integration with Western political and economic structures.

In his turn, the Russian foreign minister said the recent contacts between the two sides "began a new radical process in relations between them". He stressed the initialed document gives an opportunity to open a completely new page of friendly partnership in all areas of bilateral relations.

"While making our reforms, we also take into account the Turkish experience," said the Russian minister. "That is why our economic relations can supplement each other in a mutually beneficial way and acquire an increasingly broad character with due account of interests of the two countries' peoples."

Istanbul Talks Reviewed

LD0502092692 Moscow TASS in English 0754 GMT 5 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS— Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev returned to Moscow from Turkey late at night on Tuesday [4 February]. He took part in a meeting of foreign ministers of nine Black Sea countries, who discussed prospects of the implmentation of the economic cooperation project in the Black Sea basin.

At the end of the meeting foreign ministers from Turkey, Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Georgia, Romania and Bulgaria initialled the text of the "Declaration on Black Sea Economic Cooperation", which, in the opinion of participants in the Istanbul meeting, should become the basis for the development of comprehensive partnership and accord in the region.

In the opinion of Kozyrev, the declaration, initialled in Istanbul, will give a political impetus and create a legal foundation for drawing into the sphere of cooperation "the main characters—enterprises, firms, banks and businessmen."

Ambassador Lukin on New Diplomatic Post

PM0402143792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 92 p 5

[Interview with Vladimir Lukin, newly appointed Russian ambassador to the United States, by B. Utekhin, place and date not given: "From Our White House to Yours"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Deputy Vladimir Lukin, well known for his independent stance in parliament, has been appointed Russian ambassador to the United States.

[Utekhin] Vladimir Petrovich, you surely know about the political tradition in our country whereby if a state figure is appointed ambassador, it means that for some reason he is not needed in his own country. Is this appointment not connected with your tough stance on Ukraine and the problem of the economic reforms and the army?

[Lukin] Indeed, such cosy sinecures have always existed and exist now as well, but this has nothing to do with the United States. I would never have accepted any diplomatic post except this one. In view of the fact that the path that we are going to take very much depends on America. But work in parliament also means quite a lot to me. Furthermore, I hope to remain a member of parliament. In this instance, I do not feel that I am a domestic bureaucrat of our Foreign Ministry but am going on temporary assignment on behalf of Russian democracy and our incipient civil society. On the other hand, you understand, if someone suddenly leaves his country even as an appointee to such a responsible post, this means that either he is needed very much in Washington or not needed very much in Moscow....

I have expressed my views openly. But understand that dreams, a noble policy, an excessively mild policy, even occasionally with dramatic gestures followed by nothing at all—that is obsolete today and is clearly insufficient for the precise and consistent realization of the thousand-year-old Russian statehood.

[Utekhin] You are going there no longer as the envoy of a great power...

[Lukin] I am going there as the envoy of a democratic country. Perhaps the most popular country in America now.

[Utekhin] There are emotions, political importance, and influence in the world community.

[Lukin] Our absolute importance has declined considerably. But our moral and even political importance have grown. It is hard to say which is more important. I realize that moral importance is a volatile condition. If the assertion of our democratic principles is not sensibly combined with the sensible geopolitical protection of our statehood, we will forfeit both principles and statehood. Even after the considerable reduction of nuclear arms that we have agreed on with the Americans, we will still have 2,000-2,500 missiles left. The fate of the world remains in our hands and America's hands, a fact that does not gladden me much. We still have the largest army in the world. Therefore, there are not only moral grounds for occupying quite firm positions in the world.

[Utekhin] When you arrive in Washington, do you not expect a minor civil war over the division of embassy property among the republics?

[Lukin] Dr. Woland [character in Mikhail Bulgakov's novel *Master and Margarita*] remarked long ago that people are particularly concerned with the housing problem. Squabbles over the division of the communal home are inevitable. My position is based on the presidential decree that the USSR's property abroad has been declared Russian property. But I am always ready to cooperate with those members of the Commonwealth of Independent States which turn to us on any problems of representation in the United States.

[Utekhin] What will happen to staffers of the former KGB working under the embassy's roof?

[Lukin] I think that Shaposhnikov, Primakov, and I will find solutions that will make the embassy a civilized place.

'Contradictions' Eyed in Kuznetsov Apointment

OW0502001792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1441 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Artur Kuznetsov, the Russian Ambassador to Estonia, just appointed by President Yeltsin, told BF [BALTFAX] that the "political contradictions over his appointment were quite natural".

On February 3, a high-ranking Estonian diplomat, who preferred not to give his name, told BF that "the Estonian side would object to this appointment in view of Artur Kuznetsov's political past, his permanent residence in Estonia and of the fact that he did not refuse to accept Estonian citizenship". He also said that Russia had violated the "diplomatic etiquette", by not inquiring about Estonia's opinion of the new appointment.

"The Estonian Foreign Ministry should have known in advance about my appointment," said Artur Kuznetsov. He also noted that shortly after Russia adopted the law on citizenship (envisaging double citizenship for Russians living outside Russia—BF), he applied for Russian citizenship. The Russian Ambassador to Estonia did not say, however, whether he had renounced his Estonian citizenship.

Artur Kuznetsov lectured at Tartu University and was the Minister for Ethnic Relations in the Savisaar government. He defended the interests of the ethnic Russians, as a result of which he had to resign at the end of last year.

He said that several hundred Russians living in Estonia had applied for Russian citizenship.

Ties With Ukraine Viewed as 'Priority'

PM0302143192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Russian Foreign Ministry statement "On the Position of the Russian Foreign Ministry Regarding Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decisions," 23 January 1992: "Desire for Dialogue"]

[Text] "The Foreign Ministry regards the maintenance and development of all-around ties between Russian and Ukraine as a priority area of Russian foreign policy. As far as the problems built up within the former Union are concerned, of which there are undoubtedly quite a few, the states belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] are showing, as indicated by the initial experience of working within the framework of the Community, an interest in solving them by the appropriate legal procedures, the existence and functioning of which are an indispensable feature of the world democratic community.

"The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Resolution 'On the Decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 19 February 1954 and of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 21 April 1954 on the Removal of the Crimean Oblast from the RSFSR' should be seen precisely in this context. The nonconfrontational, constructive tenor of this document is noteworthy, its second paragraph, in particular, saying that the Russian Supreme Soviet requests that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet also examine the constitutionality of the 1954 decisions transferring the Crimean Oblast from the RSFSR to the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Here was reflected the common desire of Russian parliamentarians for dialogue on all questions concerning bilateral Russian-Ukrainian relations. The resolution does not postulate different decisions, but is aimed at all-around joint study and in-depth professional examination of the question.

"In our opinion, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Appeal 'On Progress in Implementing the Agreement on Creating the CIS' should be regarded in the same vein. It is our belief that the lack of interparliamentary dialogue on the whole range of questions concerning bilateral relations largely caused such an adverse reaction [obostrennyy vospriyatiye] to the problems of the Black Sea Fleet and the Crimea."

[Dated] 23 January 1992.

Gaydar Sees 'Positive' Shift in U.S. Position

PM0402170392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 92 p 1

[Stanislav Oganyan report: "From the Press Center of the Reforms: Yegor Gaydar: Leap in Prices Will Not Develop Into Hyperinflation"]

[Excerpts] Russian Government Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar's news conference began 30 minutes late yesterday at the former USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, which has now become the press center of the reforms. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the results of the Russian state delegation's visit to Britain, the United States, and Canada, he announced Britain and Canada's clear support for the Russian reform program as well as the idea of creating a stabilization fund of $5-6 billion. As for the U.S. position, it is characterized by a gradual shift in a positive direction. [passage omitted]

Gaydar Receives U.S. Newspaper Publisher

PM0402133192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Anichkin: "Yegor Gaydar Receives Hearst Corporation Chiefs. U.S. Publishers Invite Boris Yeltsin To Speak in New York"]

[Text] On 28 January Russian Government Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar received the heads of the U.S. Hearst newspaper and magazine corporation, who are in Moscow to sign an agreement on setting up an IZVESTIYA-Hearst joint venture.

Corporation President Frank Bennack, who is also chairman of the congress organizing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, handed over a letter from the association inviting Russian President Boris Yeltsin to address the congress in New York. During the conversation with the vice premier it was noted that U.S. Preident George Bush was also expected to address the congress, and British Prime Minister John Major had been invited too. The yearly congress of newspaper publishers is a major annual event which gets the widest possible coverage in the media.

Yegor Gaydar wished the Hearst corporation and IZVESTIYA success in their venture, as they complete their preparations for the publication of the first truly joint Russian-American newspaper, MY/US. The newspaper will be produced by a joint Russian-American editorial collective in Moscow and Washington and will be published in Russian and English in the United States and the republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States in a print run of 350,000 copies. The vice premier noted that the establishment of the joint venture is yet more evidence of Western entrepreneurs' growing interest in investing in the media in Russia. He talked about the course of the economic reforms, which will improve conditions for entrepreneurial activities in the country. Yegor Gaydar dwelt in particular on the problem of the stabilization of the financial situation in Russia.

Hearst Corporation President Frank Bennack, for his part, noted the media's major role in developing Russian-American cooperation. The newspaper MY/US will be one means of setting up this kind of cooperation.

USDA Team To Aid in Starting Farms

924A0497C Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 22 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by TASS correspondent I. Barsukov: "An American Farm in Russia"]

[Text] Washington, 20 January—U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan announced on 19 January that a delegation of experts from his department would be traveling to Russia; they would discuss the issues of setting up an American-style farm and of assisting Russian farmers in organizing their own highly productive farms.

The group of American specialists will hold meetings with Russian officials, discuss a number of organizational issues, the location of the farm, its size, and types of output produced. The delegation will stay in Russia until 28 January, and upon its return will submit a report containing conclusions and recommendations to E. Madigan.

E. Madigan himself proposed to set up a demonstration American farm during his trip to the Soviet Union in October 1991. This concept has gained support, and the time has now come for practical steps to be taken. It is stressed in E. Madigan's statement that the creation of a farm "may demonstrate our experience of organizing a farm to Soviet farmers. If we succeed this will be very important for the people of Russia as they advance toward a market economy."

As the secretary said, the American farm will most likely be located in the vicinity of St. Petersburg. According to the plan, U.S. specialists will help Russian farmers to organize their own production after setting up the exhibition farm. We plan to implement a program which will assist individual farmers in learning how to work on their own farms and manage them, produce their own crop, and sell it in the area of St. Petersburg, stressed E. Madigan.

DPRK Envoy on Signing of Nuclear Accord

SK0502061792 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 1 Feb 92

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Dear listeners:

You probably have already heard the news that the DPRK signed an accord with the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] in Vienna on 31 January.

In the accord the DPRK has agreed with the IAEA's inspection of nuclear facilities in its territory.

Inspections as such following the signing of the accord was already expected when Pyongyang signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1985.

The DPRK Embassy in Moscow held a news conference with the Russian and foreign correspondents on 31 January. Station reporter Solovyev attended the news conference.

As is already known, North Korea had refused to place its nuclear facilities under international inspection for over six years, thereby leading people to suspect that North Korea was already capable of developing nuclear weapons.

How can such a view be explained? Addressing this question, Son Song-pil, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR [as heard], answered as follows:

[Begin Song Song-pil recording] It is entirely due to the unjust stand of the United States and the ROK that we have not been able to sign the safeguards accord and the signing of the accord has been delayed until now.

In order words, it is associated with the deeds of the U.S. authorities that have moved against creating an environment and conditions to help us sign the nuclear safeguards accord.

As you may know, we signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1985. Our goal in signing the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was to have U.S. nuclear weapons removed from the southern half of our Republic and to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

Driven by such a goal, we have made every effort possible to sincerely fulfill the duty imposed on us by the treaty. First, we have put forward a series of reasonable proposals for denuclearizing the Korean peninsula. Also, despite the environment in which nuclear threats to us have intensified and the dark clouds of the danger of nuclear war have grown bigger, we have discussed with the (?IAEA) the signing of the nuclear safeguards accord and even went to the length of trimming the words in the agreement.

Thus, we have shown our sincerity. Nevertheless, the United States had not withdrawn its nuclear weapons from South Korea. What is more, nuclear weapons had been systematically increased in South Korea even after we signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. In addition, they have kept escalating nuclear threats to us by conducting, with increasing intensity, such military exercises as the Team Spirit, threatening to attack us with nuclear weapons.

They also turned a deaf ear to our call that they provide us with a nuclear safeguards guarantee. Instead, they unilaterally forced us to sign the nuclear safeguards accord and agree to nuclear inspections. This is the same as forcing us to accept nuclear inspection, while keeping in place their nuclear weapons deployed in the southern half which are trained on our hearts.

Under these conditions, the question of removing the U.S. nuclear threat to our country has become a matter of urgency associated with the life and death of our people.

According to the dictates of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, nuclear powers bear the duty of providing the nonnuclear countries with a nuclear safeguards guarantee. In spite of this, the United States, rather than fulfilling its duty as such, that is to say, without providing us with a nuclear safeguards guarantee, has kept putting pressure on us to sign the nuclear safeguards accord and accept nuclear inspections.

To use a metaphor, this amounts to an act of forcing us to empty our pockets to see whether or not we have any nuclear weapons while keeping their own nuclear weapons leveled at us in their pockets.

We could not sign the nuclear safeguards accord because they pressed us to accept nuclear inspection while pointing their nuclear weapons at our hearts in a manner which interfered in the internal affairs of our country. No sovereign country could give in to such a pressure.

To have others fulfill their duty according to the treaty, one should fulfill one's own duty equally and fairly in the first place and urge others to do their part. If one forces others to fulfill their duty by putting pressure on them, without doing the same thing oneself, things like this cannot be settled in relations between countries.

So, we have made propositions saying that we will fulfill our duty stipulated by the treaty and urging the United States to discharge its duty imposed by the treaty, namely the withdrawal of its nuclear weapons from South Korea, the removal of nuclear threats posed to us, and the discontinuation of such a nuclear war exercise as the Team Spirit in particular.

Finding it impossible to ignore our just demand as such, the United States and the South Korean authorities have announced their decision to withdraw tactical nuclear weapons from South Korea and last December the person in authority in South Korea declared the absence of nuclear weapons in South Korea.

The United States, too, welcomed this declaration made by the person in authority in South Korea. Following this, the South Korean authorities signed a joint declaration on denuclearizing the Korean peninsula. What is more, the United States responded to our proposal for bilateral talks.

As you may know, a high-level talk was held last 22 January between the United States and us thanks to a proposal initiated by the United States [as heard].

With the United States and the South Korean authorities announcing the decision to withdraw U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea and to discontinue the Team Spirit military exercise and with the South Korean authorities agreeing with us on declaring the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and with the United

States sitting with us in negotiations, all the conditions for us to sign the safeguards accord have been created.

I have just told you substantially as to why the signing of the nuclear safeguards accord has been delayed and why we have chosen to sign it now.

Precisely because of this, our signing of the nuclear safeguards accord can be said to be a fruition of our independent line built on the chuche idea. It can also be said to be a triumph of our government's consistent line of having thought and decided everything on the basis of placing national interest ahead of everything.

Since we have signed the nuclear safeguards accord, our government will ratify it after going through the legal procedures at the earliest possible date. At the same time, we will see to it that we place our nuclear facilities under inspection through discussion with the (?IAEA).

When the nuclear inspection is conducted in our country, it will lead to a graphic disclosure that babblings about our nuclear development are nothing but complete fabrications and anti-Republic stratagem.

Some said that we were developing nuclear weapons, arguing that they can prove this with satellite photographs. This argument will be proven to be a complete fiction through nuclear inspection.

Our people will not give in to any pressure based on fictitious fabrications. Our people will, as in the past, never condone such acts insulting their national pride. [end recording]

Optimism Expressed Over North-South Relations

SK0502032892 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 0800 GMT 3 Feb 92

[By commentator Viktor Valentinov: "Korea After Peace"]

[Text] Remarkable events are taking place on the Korean peninsula. This is noteworthy when regarding the stagnant situation which has dominated Korea for the past 35 years. During the whole period of the "cold war", the states of the two Koreas did not establish any kind of relations, and ignored each other's existence, each regarding the other as an enemy.

Since then, the two Koreas have put forth so-called peace initiatives, but in reality these were not to appeal to each other but to appeal to world opinion. I would like to say that people became accustomed to this kind of initiative and that not many people took them seriously.

When dialogue between Pyongyang and Seoul progressed rapidly from late last year, everyone was very surprised. Both sides made great compromises which resulted in the signing of the agreement on reconciliation, nonaggression, and cooperation and exchange between the North and South. Since then, the DPRK and the ROK have adopted a declaration on the denuclearization on the Korean peninsula. This measure was supported by nuclear powers including Russia, the PRC, and the United States.

Rapid changes took place in Korea's military and political situation. The United States promised that they will withdraw all of their nuclear weapons from South Korea. It was decided that the Team Spirit joint military exercise which was held annually by the United States and South Korea will be suspended. Also, preparations are being made to reduce U.S. occupation forces stationed in South Korea.

However, the issue of the DPRK accepting international inspection of its nuclear facilities remained unresolved. People who forecasted that there would be new barriers in resolving this issue were not correct. On 30 January in Austria, the capital of Vienna, the DPRK and the International Atomic Energy Agency signed an agreement on international inspection of North Korea's nuclear facilities.

The United States, doubting that Pyongyang is secretly developing nuclear weapons by itself, welcomed this agreement and South Korea also expressed satisfaction over the agreement. However, we cannot say yet that problems have been completely solved. These days Washington is expressing worry over the fact that Pyongyang is making too fast a progress in the nuclear field and is demanding that it receive inspection in the shortest possible time. It is also giving a deadline for the date of the inspection which is by 19 March.

Now everything will depend on the position of the DPRK leadership. Since the DPRK leadership signed the agreement, it should take follow up measures that are needed and open its nuclear facilities to international inspectors, so that more rapid progress can be made in North-South Korean talks.

Khasbulatov, Japanese Envoy Discuss Aid

LD0302031792 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 31 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 31 (TASS)—The Russian parliament supports President Boris Yeltsin's plan for the settlement with Japan through gradual progress, the Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov told Japanese ambassador to Moscow, Sumio Edamura, during their meeting here today.

Yevgeny Ambartsumov, deputy chairman of the parliament's Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, told journalists later that the ambassador on behalf of Japan's Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe and government had assured the Russian official that Japan would stick to its friendly orientation towards cooperation with Russia and participate in Western humanitarian aid to the country.

No specific terms of supplies to Russia were discussed.

Khasbulatov expressed his appreciation of Japan's readiness to provide humanitarian aid to Russia.

Kurils Residents 'Nervous' Over Border Issue

OW0402144392 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Video report by V. Korotkikh from Iturup; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] Our correspondent at the Kurils thinks the problem of the Southern Kurils, which is being actively discussed by both the public and the politicians, creates a nervous atmosphere among the residents and authorities of the so-called contested territories.

[Begin recording] [Korotkikh] The island of Iturup is one of the group of contested islands, and the Kuril Rayon Soviet—which is located on it—has recently adopted a decision on accepting Japanese citizens. [video shows a map of Iturup and a text of the abovementioned document, with the words "procedure of accepting Japanese citizens" underlined]

Actually, this document amounts to an ultimatum to the Russian president and parliament. It says: "In the event the president and the Russian Supreme Soviet do not confirm their adherence to the immutability of the status of the southern Kuril Islands, the rayon Soviet of the People's Deputies, having no desire to indulge in hypocrisy, officially decline all responsibility for the safety, transportation, and accomodation of Japanese citizens visiting the island of Iturup."

The document was adopted after ways to avoid a harsh confrontation appeared to have been found. Mutual exchanges of delegations became regular, the Japanese side extends humanitarian aid, and businessmen invest capital in joint enterprises. [video shows shots of unidentified settlements, street scenes, shoppers in a food shop] The main thing is that no one intends to shift any borders.

The Sakhalin Oblast Soviet canceled the decision made by the subordinate authority as contradicting international law and the Russian constitution. But the general tension among the residents of the Southern Kurils does not subside. [video shows interview with A. Aksenov, chairman of the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet]

[Aksenov] The problem of the Northern territories remains as such since 1945. The stance of the Japanese ruling circles did not undergo any drastic changes. I had meetings with representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party and with the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In my meeting I called their attention to the fact that today more than ever Japan must take into consideration the realities of the period, the times Russia is going through. If in this period, which is very difficult for us, Japan shows itself to be a good neighbor and refrains from further actively stirring the issue, if it understands that we must first solve our internal problems before switching to international ones —then the attitude of the Russian people towards the Japanese will be totally different.

However, if the opposite happens, I think it will further aggravate the situation, strain relations, and will not lead towards the solution of this problem. [end recording]

Khabarovsk Firm Signs PRC Letter of Intent

LD3001215492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1126 GMT 26 Jan 92

[From the "Business News" section]

[Text] A letter of intent has been signed in Kharbin between the Khabarovsk corporation Eastnet and a number of Chinese information-commercial companies.

Eastnet deputy director Dmitry Dmitriyev back from China on January 24 described the beginning scientific and technological cooperation with the Chinese companies as unprecedented in the sphere of information, computer and intellectual exchange between the two countries. On a mutually beneficial basis, Eastnet will supply the Chinese partners with information on the activity of exchanges, on the price situation and financial projects in the Far East and the Commonwealth States. The Chinese companies, on a barter basis, will supply commercial information on the Chinese market structures. They will also supply computer equipment. The names of the Chinese companies have not been disclosed.

Algerian 'Warning' About Interference Viewed

LD0502054892 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1600 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Commentary by Aleksandr Timoshkin: "New victims as a result of the confrontation in Algeria"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Mohamed Boudiaf, chairman of the Higher State Council in Algeria said on national television today that the process of the democratization of life in the country will continue. He affirmed that the new authorities will not block activity by the various political parties and that they will work to guarantee human rights. [passage omitted]

What merits attention is the statement by Mohamed Boudiaf, Higher State Council chairman, that Algerian authorities will not allow interference in the country's affairs from anywhere. There is reason to believe that this is a warning to fundamentalist organizations in Iran and Sudan that actively support the actions of the Algerian extremists. There is also information indicating

the establishment of a kind of a center for fundamentalist forces in Sudan which can coordinate their activities throughout the various Islamic countries. This possibility causes great anxiety for authorities in Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt and the other Arab countries who have expressed some form of support for the action of the Higher State Council.

Haitian Assassination Attempt Criticized

LD0202104892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1624 GMT 29 Jan 92

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Bulanov]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—"The assassination attempt made in Haiti against Rene Theodore, the well-known politician whose candidacy has been put forward for the post of prime minister, is resolutely condemned in Moscow," says a statement by a Foreign Ministry spokesman distributed here today. He called on the Haiti authorities to seek civilized, non-violent ways of achieving a settlement in order to overcome the crisis situation and to restore constitutional order and democracy in the shortest possible time.

Federation Affairs

Government Meets To Discuss CIS, Other Issues

PM0502095692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Russian Government Sitting Behind Closed Doors"]

[Text] A closed session of the Russian Government, with no announcement of the agenda, took place 4 February in the building on Staraya Ploshchad. On this occasion the exclusion of the press was apparently due to the nature of the matters submitted for discussion.

According to information obtained by IZVESTIYA's correspondent from competent sources, the first item on the agenda was the relationship with the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] partners. It was a question of how to build up this currently fragile structure so that the Commonwealth has real self-regulation mechanisms, especially in the economic sphere. Russia's approach remains the same—there should be a single economic and currency area within the Commonwealth. Disregard for these principles could affect the nature of economic ties. In other words, countries that pursue their own economic policy without taking account of the interests of their CIS partners will be regarded by Russia as foreign states, with all the ensuing consequences, including trade status, regulation of imports and exports, and so forth.

The second item on the agenda is disarmament. The concept in this sphere is set forth, in particular, in President B. Yeltsin's recent proposals. At today's session the government members are examining a package of documents which constitute a mechanism for the reduction of arms and military facilities, as well as the cutting back of the gigantic military-industrial complex. It is planned to accelerate this complex process—many Russian administrative structures will be involved.

Mashits Gives Report

LD0402161692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1418 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Feb (TASS)—The progress of preparations for the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] heads of states' summit, scheduled for 14 February, was discussed today at a session of the Russian Government chaired by Boris Yeltsin. Deputy Premier Sergey Shakhray told journalists that a report was delivered by Vladimir Mashits, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Economic Cooperation with CIS Member States, in which he mainly analysed the implementation of economic agreements and treaties between Russian and the former Soviet republics. According to Shakhray, interaction between the government and committees of the Russian Supreme Soviet was examined during the session, as were certain other practical matters.

Economic, Food Agreements Discussed

OW0402210292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1917 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [4 February], the government of the Russian Federation held a session chaired by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Sergey Shakhray told journalists at today's press conference that the government discussed preparations for the Commonwealth summit, scheduled for February 14. Answering the IF [INTERFAX] question, he said that the session had given specific instructions to the leaders of the Russian Foreign Ministry and to the Committee for Economic Cooperation. Besides that, the Cabinet discussed the implementation of the agreements, above all economic and food agreements, between Russia on the one hand and Ukraine and Kazakhstan on the other, said Sergey Shakhray. Among other topics discussed was cooperation between the government and the parliamentary committees in information exchanges.

Yeltsin Meets With Media Representatives

LD0402210292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Report by Correspondent L.Ioffe; from the "Vesti" Newscast]

[Text] Despite some people's expectations, today's meeting between our president and leaders of the mass media was uncommonly genial and constructive. Yeltsin

did not give his assessments of articles and reports but spoke about the mutual support of the government, in particular of the Press Ministry and of journalists which is so much needed in these difficult times. The president promised help in obtaining newsprint, distributing newspapers, and ensuring reception of all television programs in Sakhalin and the Siberian oblasts. He also spoke resolutely against any television monopoly and against creating new, gigantic television monsters.

Besides issues directly relating to journalists, the president also summed up the results of his foreign tour. He stressed that the West is fully aware of its interests regarding the easing of tension in our country.

Receives Draft Subsidy Resolution

LD0402172292 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 4 TASS—The Russian president met mass media leaders today to discuss financial difficulties encountered by radio and television and the survival crisis through which newspapers are now going.

IZVESTIYA Editor in chief Igor Golembyovskiy said the problem was central in the meeting.

Russia's Press and Information Minister Mikhail Poltoranin handed over to Boris Yeltsin a draft government resolution on subsidies to mass media outlets, Golembyovskiy told ITAR-TASS.

As far as Golembyovskiy was aware, the government declined the resolution and it is now up to the Russian president to say the last word in solving this pressing problem.

Paper Views Meeting

PM0402204192 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Chief Editor Anatoliy Yurkov: "To Yeltsin for Protection"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's meeting with leaders of the mass media 4 February was unusual. It was unusual in the sense that both the president and his guests tried to get away from formalities. Boris Nikolayevich even abandoned the idea of an "office conversation," choosing for the meeting one of the Grand Kremlin Palace's drawing rooms and not the office with the T-shaped table in which the former Communist Party's Politburo used to meet. We are having a confidential conversation, Boris Nikolayevich stressed, not an ideological dressing-down.

The conversation with the president indeed did prove confidential and useful. Boris Nikolayevich talked about his "conquest of the world" which he achieved without a single shot, getting Russia confirmed as a UN Security Council member. He also talked about the secret strings of his diplomacy which he has been pulling.

Secrets always remain secrets, but in the current wary world, the most effective things are honesty, trust, and benevolence. It was these that allowed the Russian president to declare our state a U.S. ally and to encounter an appropriate response from President G. Bush.

We were frank with the president, too. The press, and above all the large-circulation newspapers that enjoy the trust of millions of readers, are falling under the guillotine of murderous prices which were freed out of turn in the market reforms. The dictatorship of departments and monopolist enterprises is taking advantage skillfully of the opportunities that have opened up in order to make destitute fellow citizens even more destitute.

We intend to cut the dictators down to size, Boris Nikolayevich promised. And to curb the monopolists who are making superprofits. He promised to sign a special document in order to save the mass media from being bankrupted and stifled.

The conversation with the president left the impression that the fate of the press concerns him at least as much as that of the Black Sea Fleet.

Yeltsin Appoints Youth Affairs Representative

PM0402122492 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 92 p 1

[Untitled report from ITAR-TASS, correspondents column]

[Text] Russian President B. Yeltsin has signed an ordinance instituting the post of plenipotentiary representative of the Russian Federation Government for youth affairs. He is to be Andrey Sharonov. Heads of administrations are advised to set up local committees for youth affairs and start financing youth programs.

Yeltsin Forms Conversion, Aid Commissions

OW0402151492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's President Boris Yeltsin continues to take legislative steps to reorganize the system of executive power. Under his instructions the state committee for conversion is to launch and monitor the process of reorienting defence plants to work for civilian needs. The staff of the state committee for conversion will comprise 200 people whose wage fund in the 1st quarter of this year will make up 1048,800 [figure as received] rubles. The leading bodies of the committee will be financed from allocations for the maintenance of government bodies envisaged in the budget of the Russian Federation.

Russia's President issued a decree to form a commission on international humanitarian and technical aid with the following address: 3/26, Kirovskiy Proyezd.

Yeltsin Issues Decree on CIS Economic Ties

PM0402150592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Feb 92 First Edition p 2

["Decree of the President of the Russian Federation on Certain Questions Concerning Trade and Economic Cooperation between the Russian Federation and CIS States", dated Moscow, The Kremlin, 28 January 1992 and signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] 1. The introduction of the export tariff on certain goods exported from Russian Federation territory to the territory of states belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] set by Russian Federation Government Resolution No. 91 of 31 December 1991 is to be suspended, pending the adoption of a special decision by the government on this question.

2. The Russian Federation State Committee on Economic Cooperation with CIS states, the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, the Russian Federation Ministry of Economics and Finance, and the Russian Federation Ministry of Trade and Material Resources are, in coordination with the Russian Federation Central Bank, to submit to the Russian Federation Government within two weeks proposals on a mechanism for trade and economic cooperation with CIS states.

3. The Russian Federation State Customs Committee and the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Committee for Foreign Economic Relations are, in coordination with the Russian Federation State Committee on Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth States and the Russian Federation Ministry of Economics and Finance, to submit to the Russian Federation Government within two weeks proposals for carrying out consultations with the governments of CIS states on questions of customs rules and tariffs.

[signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation. The Kremlin, Moscow. 28 January 1992. Decree No. 55.

Third Independent Farm Congress Opens 3 Feb

LD0302073892 Moscow TASS in English 0727 GMT 3 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzublo]

[Text] Moscow February 3 (ITAR-TASS)—The third Congress of the Association of Individually-Operated Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives (ACCOR) opened here today.

It is being attended by more than 800 delegates representing almost 62,000 farmers registered in the republic by now.

The congress will discuss a report by ACCOR President Vladimir Bashmachnikov and adopt a concept of the farmers' movement in Russia.

Khasbulatov Addresses Congress

LD0402025792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 3 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian peasants gathered today in the building of the former Noblemen's Assembly. The third congress of the Association of Private Peasant Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives of Russia began work today in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions. Some statistics: at the start of 1992, about 60,000 private farms were registered in Russia. A year ago there were only 4,500. Their share of total output was less than one percent. Animal husbandry in private farming has not yet been widely developed. Each farmer cultivates an average of about nine hectares of arable land, which is six hectares less than on collective and state farms.

Many problems hold back the development of private farms: equipment is too costly, it is difficult to obtain seeds, fuel, lubrication and building materials, a sales system and good roads are lacking.

Reports have recently been coming in that farmers are in a pretty black mood. Our correspondent Aleksandr Galkin is in the Hall of Columns, and he should come on the line to the studio. Hello, Sasha, what are people saying in the lobby? What is the general mood in the hall?

[Galkin] Of course, there is no sign of the unanimity there once was. The congress of the Association of Private Peasant Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives of Russia began stormily. The farmers really laid into both the agenda and the composition of the working bodies, so despite the standing orders drawn up in advance, the first session began with an address by Ruslan Khasbulatov. He pointed out that there are no active opponents of private farming in the Russian leadership today. But the country is not yet ready for private farming en masse. The only forces today that can drive a wedge between peasant farms and collective and state farms are reactionary forces—this is exactly the way he put it—which are calling for revenge and even for a march on the White House. Ruslan Imranovich asked the private farmers to become, in the future, the Supreme Soviet's collective expert on agricultural matters.

Next, representatives of regional branches of the association started to take the floor. They shared the Supreme Soviet chairman's opinion that it was premature to deal the final blow to the collective farms. However, they resolved to ask President Yeltsin to reduce value-added tax and to abolish the central apparatus of their own association, strange as it may seem, which has fulfilled its task.

Far from everyone agreed with the last point of view, however, and passions are running rather high. So we shall tell you about the first day of the congress in our evening bulletins.

Congress Approves Bank Network

LD0502043592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1632 GMT 3 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzublo]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Feb (TASS)—Russian farmers have decided to create a broad network of their own cooperative peasant banks. This intention was supported by many delegates at the third congress of the Association of Peasant (Private) Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives (AKKOR) which is being held in the capital.

It would be foolish, AKKOR's President Vladimir Bashmachnikov believes, to hand out money to pay off the interest in "alien" commercial finance and credit companies. In his view, it would be more appropriate to spend part of state subsidies (as is known, this year, for farmers this sum amounts to 6.5 billion) on the authorized capital of regional and, subsequently, rayon peasant banks. What is more, the capital should be privatized immediately, in other words divided into shares which the farmers can subsequently accumulate.

Such banks are already operating in ten obasts of the Russian Federation.

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Attend

LD0402100492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0845 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Feb (TASS)—The Congress of the Association of Peasant (Private) Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives had barely begun the second day of its session this morning when it stopped work. After briefly discussing the contradictory report of the "Russian Farmer" Fund on the expenditure of state funds allocated to peasants last year, and having refused to listen to an erudite scheme for the development of private farming, most of the delegates demanded an immediate dialogue with the Russian leadership. They did not consider Yegor Gaydar's presence in the Presidium to be sufficient, and voted for President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and members of the government and Supreme Soviet to come to the congress at once. At the last farmers congresses, the peasants finally got Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov to come to their meetings.

Gaydar Addresses Congress

LD0402221692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Correspondent I. Minayev report; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Delegates to the congress of the Association of Peasant Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives of Russia were presented with an idea on the development of private farming. It received, however, a hostile reception from most. It is not very clever when not a single practical problem has been solved.

Following an unscheduled break, Yegor Gaydar gave a speech which not only succeeded in cooling passions but also in cutting applause short. The deputy prime minister assured delegates that the government supports farmers and is preserving the preferential procedure of loan advancements.

Yegor Gaydar reported that a draft decision on releasing farmers' children from army service had already been worked out but that it was perfectly feasible that, instead of plowing and sowing, they would have to protect their farms with weapons in their hands. After all, peasants today have found themselves virtually unprotected in the face of a crime wave. Their farms are being burned down, their cattle slaughtered, and equipment stolen. Unable to rely on the militia, the delegates are demanding that the government grant them the right to use firearms. The deputy prime minister supports this demand, proposing to set up an operational headquarters to combat racketeering. The congress is continuing its work.

Further Gaydar Comments

LD0402124192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1027 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Feb (TASS)—After an unscheduled one-hour break following the delegates' demand that Boris Yeltsin should be made to attend, the Russian farmers congress decided to continue its plenary sessions in a constructive manner, without the president. Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar began a dialogue with the farmers. We support the private farmers movement, but at the same time we are very much afraid of haste and adventurism in launching private farming on a mass scale, because the state has insufficient resources at its disposal for this, Gaydar declared from the platform. At the same time, he announced a number of measures aimed at ensuring that the priorities of the agrarian sector of the economy are met. In particular, despite the general policy of increasing bank rates, the preferential procedure of granting credits to private farmers at a rate of 8 percent will be maintained, he said.

Burbulis Addresses Congress

LD0402221192 Moscow TASS in English 1929 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Ignatyev]

[Text] Moscow February 4 TASS—The government headed by President Boris Yeltsin will not resign as it is implementing policies which are vital for the country, first deputy prime minister of Russia, Gennadiy Burbulis, said today at the third congress of the Association of Peasant Economies in Moscow. He noted that a growing number of people are taking part in implementing the reforms and the first positive results are already being seen. This shows that the path taken is the correct one, he added.

Despite the strong resistance to the reforms from the right, neither the president nor the government on the whole intends to resort to dictatorial forms of rule. The president elected by the people sets himself the task not to frighten the people but to interest them in the economic freedom. Farmers will form a basis for reforms in agriculture and will account for a substantial proportion of Russian entrepreneurs, Burbulis stressed.

He supported delegates of the congress who suggested concluding an economic agreement between the government and the Association of Peasant Economies, according to which both sides will assume mutual economic and political obligations.

Loans Approved, Not Lower Taxes

OW0402161492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's government is willing to ensure for individual farmers credits with interest rates not exceeding 8% a Year. But it is not in a position to free them from paying the 28% value-added tax, deputy premier Yegor Gaydar told the 3rd congress of Russian farmers. He called for establishing, in the framework of anti-monopoly legislation, control over the prices of machinery and other materials the farmers need, and for simplifying the procedure of paying taxes by farmers.

Further Reportage on Planned 9 Feb Rallies

Moscow Council Bans Demonstration

LD0402154192 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Vdovin]

[Text] Moscow February 4 TASS—The Moscow city council did not allow on Tuesday [3 February] the communist-oriented organisations to stage a demonstration on February 9 near the "Russian White House"—the Russian parliamentary building, as democrats were the first to apply for a permission to demonstrate in the place. The "Live Circle" Movement, uniting those who protected the "White House" in the three days of the August coup last year, is expected to be joined on February 9 by two other democratic groups—"August-91" and "Delta- 3".

Communists were denied only the place, not the right to demonstrate. They will join in a meeting in Manezh Square near Kremlin on the same day.

The Moscow city council decision to split the demonstrations was evidently caused by fear of clashes between the supporters and opposers of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his programme of reforms.

Traffic Disruptions Banned

OW0502034392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1917 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moscow authorities banned all marches and rallies on February 8 and 9 if they disrupt traffic. Following a lengthy discussion Tuesday [4 February] at a sitting of the Moscow government it was decided to reject all applications by parties and organizations for rallies and demonstrations. A meeting was permitted on Manezh Square on February 8, 12:00. A group of Mossovet (Moscow legislature) plans to gather its supporters to voice support of the radical reforms.

At 10:30, February 9, the organization Living Ring (its members defended the White House during the August 1991 putsch attempt) plans to stage a rally around the White House.

The "Working Russia's" coordinating council assembles its supporters at 11:00 on the same day. This organization and neocommunists plan to stage a march on the White House. Chairman of Moscow's government Yury Luzhkov suggested two options for the rally: Manezh Square or Gorky Park.

Protestors To Pay Moscow

LD0402203392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" Newscast]

[Text] Applications from various public organizations and parties to hold marches at the capital's center planned for 8 and 9 February were examined at today's session of the Moscow Council. A decision was adopted, which notes that staging demonstrations is becoming an expensive occupation. The organizers of rallies, marches, or demonstrations, regardless of the place where they are held, will have to pay from now on for the protection of order, the forced idleness of city transport, as well as for cleaning the streets and other services. True, an allowance has been made for the organizers of rallies 8 and 9

February. They will be held in the old way, that is, free of charge. The Freedom [Svoboda] Democratic Movement will be allowed to hold a rally in Manezh Square on 8 February, but a march of supporters of this movement along the capital's streets will not take place since the organizers are unable to settle financial accounts with the city. For the same reason, the Moscow Council has allowed the Living Circle [Zhivoye Koltso] movement only to hold a rally at the White House, and the Working Russia [Trudovaya Rossiya] to do so in Manezhnaya Square on 9 February.

Pros, Cons of Rally Weighed

PM0402142592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Feb 92 p 2

[S. Karkhanin article: "Pickets Opposed to Rally? The Energy of Protest"]

[Text] The rally scheduled for 9 February by the "Working Russia" association may occupy a special place among the avalanche of rallies that has swept over Moscow in the past few months. For the first time, the demonstrators, who intend to protest the unrestrained rise in prices and demand the government's resignation, will evidently meet with opposition. The point is that "Democratic Russia" activists have declared that they are prepared to post pickets of their own supporters at the "White House," where the rally is to be held. The aim of the "living barrier" is to protect the building. Developing this idea, Deputy V. Bokser let slip: "The Army and the KGB are under our authority, and they can prevent a clash, otherwise there will be a repetition of Tbilisi..."

So, it is not out of the question that two demonstrations will meet head-on at Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment 9 February. It is hard to say how it will all end. There is food for thought here, particularly if you recall the recent incident at the Cuban Embassy in Moscow where two groups of demonstrators met—supporters and opponents of Fidel Castro—and, furthermore, with both foreigners and Muscovites in each group. Fortunately, the militia prevented hand-to-hand fighting in time, but the fact remains that a political dispute was already turning into fisticuffs.

The "living barrier" will possibly involve very few people, because those demonstrating against the march will essentially have to be supporting the crazy prices. But here is a story told by one of the "Working Russia" activists: "I was pasting up leaflets in my neighborhood about the march scheduled for 9 February when suddenly I noticed a poorly dressed man diligently tearing them down. I asked what was going on. 'Some nice people are paying me 300 for this job,' he said, smirking drunkenly. 'There are a lot of people like me, so you will not get anywhere.' I would not like to draw vast conclusions from one individual case, but you have to bear in mind that the picketers may have all kinds of motives..."

It is not surprising that the Moscow Workers Council headquarters contains people who insist that things need to be thought out properly again before a many-thousand-strong column is led to the "White House." Their reasons are, briefly, as follows. Will there not be a repetition in Moscow of the scenario played out in Vilnius a year ago, when the incident outside parliament enabled "Sajudis" to create an "enemy image" and unite disparate groupings of anti-Soviets in a general fight against people with other viewpoints? Provocateurs or hooligans are capable of provoking a skirmish between the demonstrators and the picketers, blood will be shed, the blame will be laid on the opposition political forces, and a reason will emerge for reprisals against them on the pretext of combating disorder and sabotage. Once the opposition has been deprived of its leaders by means of repressions, the assault on working people's rights can be continued unhindered in the name of the interests of the new Nepmen [petty speculators from the era of the New Economic Policy in the 1920's].

There is another reason too. It is senseless to try to make the government resign, because it is not the root of the evil. This is to be found in the political bosses operating behind the scenes. In order to be able to seriously oppose them, painstaking explanatory work, primarily at plants and on kolkhozes [collective farms] is needed. A recent meeting with Ryazan petrochemical workers, held at the Moscow Workers University, showed that people are beginning to understand that their current misfortunes have been caused in many respects by the fact that labor collectives have no rights. So we need elections to soviets in industrial districts, and laws that would give priority to the people working on the shop floor when plants and factories are being bought out.

Holding noisy rallies is easy but ineffectual, according to the advocates of this policy, as you will not achieve anything by shouting. They are convinced that you have to go onto the shop floor and not out onto the street, although of course it is an alluring thought to dazzle a many-thousand-strong crowd with your oratorical skills. But you cannot achieve a real result in protecting working people's social rights by means of processions and slogans. If the price to pay for such a procession is bloodshed, then to renounce it is not cowardice but political farsightedness.

Is this convincing? Maybe. But another view is no less convincing; and its advocates believe that the 9 February rally must be held. Where else can the ordinary individual who has been plunged into impoverishment express his pain and convince himself that he is not alone in the protest against the chaotic prices and social inequality? The authorities will be forced to reckon with the energy of protest which will pour out onto the squares, and they will not be able to maintain that the people are silent and silence is a sign of consent to their economic experiments. As for risk, then there is no avoiding that in any case. The people have nothing to lose and no one to fear, and the forces that dare to

oppose them will expose their true face and be covered with disgrace for a long time.

So, two policies, two sets of tactics. Which should be given preference? It is hard to put forward a ready-made formula. Arguments are continuing in the workers council. But one way or another, a choice will have to be made in the near future: Sunday is around the corner... People will almost definitely gather at the "White House" anyway, and those who insisted that the rally be called off will also join their ranks as a matter of conscience—their comrades must not be thrown into danger! Although of course this does not mean that unity of ideas has prevailed. Debates about tactics among the leaders of the workers movement are testimony to its growing maturity and organized nature. Where can the powerful energy of protest which is now concentrated in the hearts of working people be channeled? Its potential is great and the way it is used is particularly important.

One thing is clear: Without a feeling of fellowship, you cannot acquire confidence, and only collective reason is capable of helping in the search for the right path. The upcoming rally is one of the phases in the fight for genuine freedom and against servitude and impoverishment.

Rival Demonstrations Viewed

MK0402122292 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by Anna Ostapchuk and Yevgeniy Krasnikov under the "Confrontation" rubric: "Who Will Get to the White House. Communists and Democrats May Meet 9 February"]

[Text] It has emerged that democrats rather than communists will be heading off to the White House in the next few days.

The call to join the march on the White House was made at a communist rally 12 January. But communist leaders absorbed in party development only found time to make their application 27 January. Whereupon they learned that the vacancy had already been filled and that the democrats' "Living Ring" ["Zhivoye Koltso"] had been roused to defend the Russian Supreme Soviet—its application was registered at the Moscow Soviet's state-law department a week earlier.

The communists originally planned to walk from Krymskiy Val to the White House, hold a rally there, and then make a "great stand" until Yeltsin's conscience pricked and he resigned. Their pamphlet urged potential participants to "dress warmly and, if possible, grab a packed lunch."

However, the democrats were also in resolute mood. "Russians! Stop the communists and fascists," their pamphlet, adorned with pictures of "sinister communists," urges in huge letters. Its appeals are extremely vigorous. "They (the communists—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA) intend to lay siege to Russia's White House 9 February in order to depose B.N. Yeltsin and establish State Committee for the State of Emergency practices." "Come to the demonstration Sunday 9 February."

Although only members of the "Living Ring" submitted the application, the rally will be attended, in addition to this organization, by "August-91," and "Delta-3"—structures that also unite defenders of the Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment [reference unknown]. The main bulk of people are expected to be members of "Democratic Russia," while "Living Ring" will act as guards and keep order. This demonstration will assemble at the "Khudozhestvenyy" Movie Theater and will certainly make it to the White House.

On learning of all this there was nothing for the communists to do but apply again 31 January: Red Square was now given as the procession's destination.

"The rally on Red Square is to have great symbolism," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent was told by Aleksey Prigarin, one of its organizers. "What is more, Yeltsin's residence is in the Kremlin. According to their application, the communists hope to get 50,000 people at the rally. The intention is to adopt a resolution there: that people's deputies be instructed to assemble the only legitimate organ of authority—the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The rally organizers also hope that they will be allowed to mount a symbolic people's guard for a day around the Lenin Mausoleum. However, the authorities are most likely also aware of the symbolic significance of Red Square and will obviously send the communists to Manezh Square, where such functions have occurred several times, thus depriving this event of any claim to being something out of the ordinary.

Democrats gathered in Moscow's parliamentary center 1 February to discuss the organizational details of their demonstration. But this meeting in which prominent politicians—Gleb Yakunin, Lev Ponomarev, Vladimir Bokser, Larisa Piyasheva, and Mikhail Poltoranin—took part ultimately exceeded its modest function and became a collective account of the "red conspiracy" being hatched deep within the incumbent authorities. It was said that [Viktor] Anpilov's followers are not a major force. But there are other people with considerable influence over television, particularly the First Program, and there are so many of them that Yegor Yakovlev [head of Moscow Television] is unable to deal with them. They present communist rallies in such a way that the provinces have the impression that all Moscow backs the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

A detailed polemic has begun. In Bokser's opinion, anyone who had not visited the Commonwealth of Independent States for six months would decide that nothing has changed: Democrats are still not being given television airtime. But Poltoranin believes that the democrats themselves are to blame for being too slow to employ the mass media now in their hands.

Political expert Igor Kvasha voiced concern at the state leaders' prosperous air, clearly due to good food and "better and better suits and offices," when "their faces should be worn out and gray from weariness and lack of sleep."

The military said that Yeltsin is wrong to ignore the list of military officials recommended for discharge by Volkogonov's commission: All the conservative officers are still in the leadership and Yeltsin is therefore threatened with the same danger as Gorbachev before him.

However, in the democrats' opinion, it is not only the Army that presents a threat. "Down with Petrov: He is to Yeltsin what Boldin was to Gorbachev," Yakunin said. While Poltoranin described the situation as a "quiet armchair counterrevolution." The Supreme Soviet wants to deprive Yeltsin of the chance of forming a government: Preparations are under way to deprive those democratic deputies that represent Yeltsin in the localities of their seats. This will increase the procommunist faction in the parliament.

"The situation is reminiscent of the Weimar Republic. The danger of fascism is increasing, given the democratic forces' disorder and the economic deterioration," Andrey Nuykin summed up.

Absolutely everyone backed the counter-rally 9 February. However, you get the impression that the democratic parties and movements gathering supporters at the Arbatskaya subway station have another aim beside their avowed aims: to show the government that they are needed at the moment and persuade it to give them a greater degree of power.

February 9 will be a trial of strength for both rivals and a kind of "tug of war" for Muscovites' political sympathies. A crucial factor will be the size of both demonstrations, and highly varied hypotheses have been voiced on this score: The potential size of the "Democratic Russia" and "Living Ring" rally has been estimated by the meeting participants themselves at between 5,000 and 200,000—50,000-70,000 on average. The communists are also hoping to get the same number.

The organizers of both rallies have assured NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondents that they will make every effort to prevent clashes. Apparently we can expect an exceptionally peaceful Sunday, especially since the communists are doing their utmost at every opportunity to stress their legitimacy and law-abiding nature, while "Living Ring" is altogether an organization of "nonviolent action."

'Working Russia' Leader Interviewed

PM0402151092 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Feb 92 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Moscow City Soviet People's Deputy Viktor Anpilov, leader of the "Working Russia" movement, by correspondent A. Frolov; date, place not given: "Our Demands Are Legitimate"]

[Text] The demonstration in Red Square 7 November 1991, and soon after that the "Hunger March on the Television Center" and the Manezh Square rally. The initiator of all these demonstrations, involving many thousands of people, was the young public movement "Working Russia" ["Trudovaya Rossiya"]. Our correspondent talked with its leader, Moscow City Soviet People's Deputy Viktor Anpilov.

[Frolov] Viktor Ivanovich, after one of the large-scale civil actions in Red Square you were attacked by the OMON [special-purpose militia detachment] and were unlawfully arrested and beaten up. How are you now?

[Anpilov] I did not take my injuries lying down, so to speak. I did not have time to take things easy. For a couple of weeks I felt terrible. Now my broken rib has healed and the pains in my back have gone. I am back on form.

[Frolov] Our newspaper has reported that criminal proceedings have been instituted in connection with your arrest and beating up. How is the investigation going?

[Anpilov] I do not think the investigation will make any progress until the official who gave the order for my arrest, in contravention of the RSFSR Law on the Status of People's Deputy, has been charged.

[Frolov] Do you know who gave the order?

[Anpilov] It was General Dovzhuk, deputy chief of the Moscow City Internal Affairs Administration.

[Frolov] General Dovzhuk warned you that next time tougher measures will be taken against you personally, yet the movement you lead is calling on Muscovites to turn out for another demonstration 9 February. Could the general end up carrying out his promise?

[Anpilov] If I am with the people, neither Dovzhuk, nor Murashev, nor Popov, nor even "the man himself" will be able to do anything to me. I wish to stress that "Working Russia" operates openly and strictly in accordance with the law. The idea of a march on the White House was supported by more than 70,000 participants in the 12 January rally. An application was accordingly submitted to Moscow City Soviet, signed by the leaders of the Russian Communist Workers Party, the United Front of Working People, the "Lenin and Fatherland" Society, the League of Communists, and patriotic social organizations. These movements are forming a united front in the struggle against a policy directed against the people. But the "people's presidents" will not listen to us. On 22 December people's deputies, economists, and lawyers wanted to set forth an alternative program for extricating ourselves from the crisis through the vigorous development and renewal of socialism, without detriment to national interests. Tens of thousands of people surrounded the television center. But we were not allowed to have our say. On 12 January we went to Manezhg Square, having sent President Yeltsin an invitation beforehand. We very much wanted to listen to the

head of the republic. People are interested in certain notorious questions: Who allowed the working people to be neglected, who gave anyone the right to disregard the results of the 17 March nationwide referendum, does the president have a mandate to revoke public ownership of the land, plants, and factories, and hand over national assets to dubious profiteers in the guise of privatization? Boris Nikolayevich could not find time to meet with the people. Now we are going to him.

We have issued an appeal to the Moscow militia. In it we stress that our demands—the resignation of the Yeltsin government, the lifting of prices amounting to daylight robbery for essential goods, the convening of a Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and the implementation of the results of the nationwide referendum—are legal, and we ask them not to prevent the people from expressing their will.

[Frolov] "Democratic Russia" has declared that it will defend the White House, like in August. Aren't you afraid of an open confrontation?

[Anpilov] Judging by the way events are developing, it is the "democrats" who want a confrontation. We submitted our application for a demonstration considerably earlier than them. So why, one wonders, should they hastily organize a counterattack, thereby, incidentally, violating their opponents' democratic rights? I think the purpose of this venture is to provoke "Working Russia" into ill-considered, extremist actions and make us out to be "new putschists."

Therefore I wish to stress again: We are acting strictly within the framework of the rule of law, we do not want confrontation, we will yield to no provocations from outside, and we will not do anything provocative ourselves. In this connection a decision has been made to **change the route of the march**. We will start, as was proposed, at the square in front of the entrance to the Central Park of Culture, and we will advance to Red Square and the Kremlin. After all, that is where the Russian president's residence is now. We guarantee discipline, order, and the peaceful nature of the march.

[Frolov] You mentioned "Working Russia's" appeal to the Moscow militia. Have you forgotten the Army?! Or is it that since the All-Army Officers' Assembly, at which, according to the television program "Vesti," the officers "rebuffed Anpilov, secretary of the Russian Communist Workers Party Central Committee," you have lost interest in the men in uniform?

[Anpilov] The "Vesti" report was an outright lie. When I was introduced, applause broke out in the auditorium. The assembly presidium did not like my speech, but that is another matter. I was not expecting sympathy from Stolyarov or Shaposhnikov.

[Frolov] How did you come to be on the platform at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses?

[Anpilov] On 17 January supporters of the "Working Russia" movement formed a "red corridor of honor and dignity" to greet the officers.

And so the participants invited me to present our desiderata to the officers, which I duly tried to do.

In general the Moscow City Soviet sessions have finally convinced me that you have to fight to make yourself heard. Especially when you are not only expressing your own personal opinion.

[Frolov] You have had some success in this. You founded the newspaper MOLNIYA virtually out of nowhere.

[Anpilov] The first issue of MOLNIYA appeared in time for 7 November 1990. At that time I was working as a commentator for the USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting], broadcasting in Spanish for Latin American listeners. Seeing that, under pressure from the "new political thinking," all the Gosteleradio services were showing a procapitalist bias, I took 500 rubles from the mutual assistance fund, bought a roll of paper (at the time it was quite cheap), and found a printing plant, though not without difficulty... Since then I have been constantly in a spin, trying to find paper, transport, distributors. Now the print run has reached 70,000-100,000 copies.

[Frolov] Do you have any time left for your family?

[Anpilov] Not really, no. But I believe I am devoting all my efforts to the struggle for happiness for my own children too. It is with that thought that I am approaching 9 February's demonstration, and I call on all honest people, all who live by their labor, all who are unwilling to accept the selling off of national assets, to join "Working Russia."

'Working Russia' Explains Goals

PM0402154792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 92 p 2

["Among Parties and Movements" report by Albert Petrushov: "Concerning the March on the 'White House'"]

[Text] The march on the "White House," planned by the "Working Moscow" movement for 9 February, will take place even if city hall tries to ban it, the leaders of the Moscow organizing bureau of the Russian Communist Workers Party (RCWP) declared at a news conference held at the headquarters of the capital's workers' council.

Various slanderous fabrications about this protest march are currently doing the rounds, Viktor Anpilov said. There is intimidatory talk about total anarchy and disorder, which will allegedly make people's lives even worse. But that is a lie. The hunger marches on 22 December and 12 January were notable for their high degree of organization and respect for the law. It will be the same with the February march. Its purpose is to

object to the rapid impoverishment of the working people and to present a package of political and economic demands to the Russian Government. We know that the leaders of "Moscow democracy" are organizing their own countermarch around the "White House" to spite us. Well, that is their affair. Gaponovshchina [attempt by czarist authorities to divert the Russian workers from the revolutionary struggle in the early twentieth century by creating bogus workers' organizations and fueling monarchist, chauvinist, and religious prejudices. Named for G.A. Gapon, leader of such a progovernment workers' movement] is in vogue. Their activeness is manifested in a fit of loyal sentiments, whereas we are driven to this by necessity and concern for the future.

Addressing the journalists, Aleksey Sergeyev described the package of emergency economic measures elaborated by "Working Moscow's" economists. If our government really is a people's government, it will immediately take control of the hard currency that is in private hands in the country—tens of billions of dollars obtained by robbing state enterprises and the population. Moreover, the government is obliged to restore the state hard currency monopoly, as well as the foreign trade monopoly, and to stop exporting raw materials, semimanufactures, and finished products at giveaway prices. One reason for the steep rise in prices is speculation in scarce raw materials through auctions at raw material exchanges.

The urgent measures include controlling the rash of speculative middleman cooperatives, helping production cooperatives, and introducing a progressive inheritance and gift tax in excess of 70,000 rubles. The state must take full control of prices of essential goods and bring them back to the pre-2 January level.

"Working Moscow," as its leaders said, will form a barrier in the way of the elimination of Soviet power and it is urging all honest people to restore genuine people's power, halt the depredation of public property privatization, and make the government carry out a strict, expert appraisal of all treaties and agreements to see whether they accord with the interests of Russia's integrity and independence.

Communists Support 'Working Russia'

OW0502013792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The coordinating committee of the Moscow Region Communists called its supporters to hold a rally on Moscow's Manezh Square and in other Russian cities in defense of united military force. It also decided to resume the communist cells before March 1 to elect delegates to the 29th CPSU congress. The committee passed a statement in support of a march on Russia's House of the Soviets by the Working Russia Movement on February 9. The statement warns of possible provocations of the ruling regime.

Labor Party Shuns Demonstrations

MK0402132192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Feb 92 p 2

[Anna Krayevskaya report under the "This Party Exists" rubric: "'Laborites' Will Stay Away and Urge Everyone To Do the Same"]

[Text] The main topic of the Moscow conference of Labor Party [LP] supporters was the street procession being prepared for 9 February through Moscow's avenues and squares.

However, the conference was intended to be a constituent conference—100 people gathered at a doctor's clinic to set up the LP's Moscow organization, draw up rules, and sign a "Political Resolution."

As we know, the LP organizers originally declared their proximity to the trade unions and specifically to the Moscow Trade Union Federation [MTUF]. What is more, leaders of the MTUF signed a statement regarding the need to set up this kind of party in August. Ahead of the conference representatives of Moscow's sectoral trade unions discussed the possibility of cooperating with it. It was decided to back the party materially, for instance, but to ban MTUF leaders from holding leadership posts within the party. As a result Mikhail Nagaytsev and Tatyana Frolova, MTUF deputy chairmen who were present at the clinic, withdrew, but they joined a council of experts specially set up for them.

An official cooperation agreement will be concluded forthwith between the MTUF and the LP.

Participants in the conference unanimously acknowledged the "march on the White House" being prepared by communists and democrats 9 February to be a provocation on the government's part. In this connection a desire was expressed to go there to separate the two mobs if they should meet and start to be aggressive toward one another. However, as a reasonable political alternative it was actually decided to adopt a statement and issue a pamphlet calling on Muscovites not to take part in the march. "We understand your indignation at the government's policy," the "laborites" said, "but do you realize that people want to use you as pawns in someone else's dirty game?"

A person who figured in this document under the name "the new Gapon" [priest who led 1905 hunger marches] (the reference is evidently to Viktor Anpilov) should evidently take the reader back to another winter Sunday, once again on the ninth day of the month.

"We understand your desire to prevent a return to the old ways, but you are not being brought onto the streets to defend the gains of democracy" LP leaders exhorted the other side—those who are ready to turn out in

response to the call from "Living Ring" ["Zhivoye Koltso"] and "Democratic Russia."

At the end of the resolution its authors urge three parties to follow the LP's example—the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Russian Communist Workers' Party [RCWP], and the Russian Socialist Workers Party [RSWP].

The LP leaders themselves have little hope of being heeded, but they believe that, if the Social Democrats fail to respond, they will thus be proving that they are not left-wingers; and that if the RCWP ignores this appeal, it will be clear once and for all that there is nothing to say to it. Meanwhile Aleksandr Maltsev, cochairman of the RSWP, was in the hall at the time and responded animatedly to what was going on, saying that he was prepared to cooperate with the LP and with anyone whatsoever, even with the Christian Democrats—this, however, did cause indignation among those present.

At the same time the LP Moscow aktiv is being somewhat indecisive: Everyone is aware that a protest is necessary, but on the other hand the Labor Party's "social base" is still remaining "silent." In the opinion of the party's experts this will contitnue to be so for about another two months. The "laborites" are also confused over the need for a "timeout," because the movement is growing—internally, psychologically, and externally. And yet it is hard to see their rivals—the communists—diluting their turbulent activity, regardless of the political fallout or, more precisely, lack of it.

'New Russia' Urges Restraint

LD0502100192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] The New Russia [Novaya Rossiya] bloc of parties met at the White House yesterday. The bloc includes the Peasants' Party, the People's Party, the Social-Democratic Party, the Social Liberal Association, and the Young Russia [Molodaya Rossiya] Alliance. It adopted a statement on the 9 February rally that appealed for restraint in supporting either side. The meeting also issued a statement reiterating that the newly elected leadership of Democratic Russia was not recognized. The New Russia bloc also established a secretariat and press service.

Rutskoy Article on Intelligentsia's Role

PM0402101192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy: "Holy Communion at McDonalds. Reflections on What Will Happen to Us on 'Judgment Day'", followed by "From the Editorial Office" commentary: "How Many Moves Ahead Is the Vice President Planning?"]

[Text] Whenever I see the waiting line snaking around McDonalds—the former Lira Cafe on Pushkin Street—I get almost more depressed than at the thought of possibly losing nuclear parity with the United States. This babel—a waiting line outside a restaurant?—probably perplexes Aleksandr Sergeyevich [Pushkin], frozen upon his pedestal. There were times when his compatriots formed similar massive crowds to catch a glimpse of the miraculous Iverskaya icon of the Holy Mother. Not all that long ago, during the stagnation period, similar lines were formed outside the Pushkin Museum by people yearning for spiritual contact with the mysterious Mona Lisa, whose portrait had been brought over from Italy.

I am not saying that we all have become philistines. Nor do I intend to laud the "primacy" of plain Russian meat pies [kulebyaka] over "Big Macs" with ketchup, even though this primacy is indisputable. Something else hurts me. The hours spent waiting outside the McDonalds establishment—this is not like waiting for food, it is like waiting for holy communion. Yes, these young and elderly people stand silently in line for hours just in order to establish a fleeting communion with the Western way of life after decades of living locked up in a totalitarian utopia. Just in order to experience being a tiny part of that most civilized world which abounds with freedom, plenty, and sufficiency. The brilliantly lit McDonalds arch at the very heart of the former superpower is a miniature replica of the "glittering temple" on the mountain, which was pathetically depicted by Reagan when he lauded America.

We simply have to accept that this is the state of affairs. Leninism, socialist realism, and all the other "isms" that provided the foundations of the monotheistic spirituality which was watched over by ideological bosses, have collapsed, and a vacuum has now developed in their place. We are no better off than under proletarian internationalism, we are awkwardly making the sign of the cross and saying our prayers, while some altogether lost souls and victims of misfortune from among the pupils of the formerly prestigious Moscow Higher Technical School are banging tambourines and chanting "Hare Krishna!"

I am not tormented by nostalgia for the times when my nose was buried in political studies at summer school, or later when, believing in "international duty," I was a target for Stinger missiles in the skies above Afghanistan.

I am profoundly depressed by the spiritual decline which has paralyzed our society. When someone is in the grips of apathy, he can deliver himself through work, sports, drunkenness, travel, or something else.

But when apathy and loss of spirituality grip a nation at the grimmest period in its history, a period when the whole world's future is being redrawn as a result of headlong changes and shifts of positions and the redistribution of spheres of influence by competing nations and powers, this loss of spirituality could end up badly for Russia and its new allies from the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] which, before our very eyes, is turning into a conglomerate of greedy large and

small states yearning for revenge and "lacking undisputed territory, authoritative governments, laws, courts of law, armies, and undisputedly ethnic population... Each one will wage a prolonged struggle with each neighboring state for territory and population, which will be tantamount to endless civil wars within Russia's boundaries." This is what Ivan Ilin, Russia's great philosopher, wrote more that 40 years ago.

The states' new "godfathers" deceive their peoples, driving them into the morass of nationalist ambitions, and split the former great power along their petty nationalist lines without realizing that the isolation which lurks behind the outward freedom and autonomy will sooner or later lead them to the final point beyond which lie either downfall and dependence on foreign will and capital, or a union but already in a different form, because time is now working against them.

Of course, being brought up as a military man, I cannot compete in the liberalism stakes with some broad-minded jurists who conjured up the text of the new Army oath. Heart and mind alike revolt when young men, performing their filial duty to the motherland, are required to swear an oath to serve—not through fear but through conscience—the flag of one state while obeying the orders of another government. Given this obvious casuistry, what is left of the moral essence of the oath as such? References to NATO are deceptive. A U.S. recruit serving at an air force base outside Munich does not swear "loyalty" to the German state. Man has only one mother and only one motherland.

Why do we not grumble, why do we not heed the voice of conscience, why is there no outburst of moral indignation when our own country's official scriveners—legislators working in the Russian tricolor's shadow—without batting an eyelid din into their compatriots the idea that nothing can be done about it and this legal and moral nonsense has to be accepted as the new Holy Writ. Constitutions are not written like this in civilized countries, and the base on which we wish to maintain the state and the self-awareness of the citizens inhabiting it cannot remain stable if it is laid on split foundations.

Our state of confusion in erecting the edifice known as the CIS on the ruins of the "empire" in the wake of the late-lamented perestroyka probably causes more amazement and worry abroad than at home. I can also reproach myself for this, as Russia's vice president who swore to honor and protect the constitutional foundations. It cannot be denied that at the time, following the new "Brest Peace," we felt that even the tortuous CIS formula, with all its flaws, nonetheless offered a basis for preventing the state's disintegration in the conditions of a dangerous vacuum of power in the country. We all seemed to have come under some spell and succumbed to this temptation, even though most members of Russia's Supreme Soviet felt a nagging anxiety when voting to ratify the obviously raw document drawn up by the high contracting parties—heirs of the Union which was consigned to oblivion.

Today it is obvious to everyone that the CIS agreement was just a draft which did not halt the centrifugal processes but, on the contrary, accelerated them. It generated a split within society and the moral anguish of millions of people who realized that something wrong was being done. Not even 100 wise men and legal experts are capable of proving to someone who proceeds simply from common sense and moral principles that this form of new statehood, which has already engendered universal dissension and the urge to divide everything accumulated through the labor of generations first in the Russian Empire and then in the Union, is good and fair. I was not perturbed even by the complaisance with which legislators and legal experts suddenly accepted the "draft" as guidelines for action. I was puzzled by the inertia with which our liberal intelligentsia, which cannot be accused of being totally detached from politics, responded to the proclamation of the CIS which was such a dramatic turning point in the nation's destiny.

The majority of the masters of the written and spoken word, idols of rallies, well known philosophers, writers, and painters—to sum up, all who are commonly known as the nation's conscience—kept silent. On occasions of far less importance—like, for example, when Gorbachev casually dropped a hint at the Supreme Soviet that it might not be a bad thing to lightly curb press freedom—they immediately sounded the alarm! The fate of the state was at stake, but all four television channels carried pop music all day long while the "Field of Miracles" [television contest game] was enthusiastically spinning the roulette wheel to amuse the semistarved audience at the other end. As for the "nation's conscience," it was somewhat reluctant to speak out or at least to ask: "Could this short-fused 'time bomb'—the CIS—by chance explode and accidentally bring a disaster upon us?" And even if some voices of well-known and not so well-known intellectuals were heard, they were weak and unconvincing. I assume that not enough airtime was made available to those whom millions of shocked people expected to speak out frankly and honestly; after all, they have far less faith in us new-wave politicians, don't they? It is nevertheless a fact that the "nation's conscience" went unheard by the people, and it was only days and weeks later, when the shaky structure of the CIS started listing dangerously and required more and more fresh props each day, that many formerly silent people started speaking out.

Yes, we did come under some spell in those crucial days, and this generates alarm and foreboding. Let me turn back to what I said at the beginning about holy communion at McDonalds, the feeling that the spiritual decline we are experiencing today is more terrifying than the feebleness of our semiruined economy. People, desperate and fooled during the perestroyka years, wish to feel a moral backup. The CPSU lost its pastoral authority long before Gorbachev's break with the totalitarian past. The politicians providing grist for the mills of the soviets—which were described in textbooks as the "living creativity" of the masses—are becoming more

and more like thorns in the flesh with each passing year. People cannot be dragged to elections. I hardly believe that we can transform ourselves overnight from atheists into diligent and devout pilgrims.

Where should backup be sought by ordinary people who want to live a human life according to the dictates of their consciences? Not each one of us is a Socrates, not each one of us can cope with moral self-determination. We have, alas, seen for ourselves that politicized man in a crowd is morally even more dangerous that the man in the street during the years of stagnation, who even then gave up on everything and retreated to his countryside plot. Say what you like, but the position of the pastor in the West who preaches God's word, in other words the universal human moral principles, in our Russian tradition belongs to writers, thinkers, actors. It cannot be denied that the intelligentsia deserves great credit for the fact that we have somehow survived to see the dawn following the darkness of Leninism-Stalinism and our existence on the verges of world civilization.

I cannot forget Mstislav Rostropovich, who rushed from abroad to the besieged White House during those days in August. The intelligentsia and the students were not intimidated during those days in August, we should remember this. It seemed as if the spirit of August would remain with us always. But winter is now upon us, a true winter of our discontent with its despondency and depression. Notes of despondency can be increasingly clearly heard from among the intelligentsia, and there is growing belief in the futility of everything that was planned and is now being done in the country. People revel in declaring that perestroyka is dead. Whereas in the past, back in the obscurity of Brezhnev's time, intellectuals who were not too badly pestered by "art critics in civilian uniform" used to retreat to their ivory towers, nowadays many of them ask the far from Hamlet-like question: To go or not to go? It looks as if the remnants of our cultural potential are about to emigrate to McDonalds' West.

Wits have nothing good to say about our symphony orchestras which are eking an existence in tents abroad. Brilliant minds from bankrupt "post box enterprises" are ready to sell themselves and all their scientific knowledge even to Mauritania, provided they get paid in "greenbacks."

I was depressed by the New Year issue of OGONEK which was more like a wake—all that grating mockery and iconoclastic rejoicing by famous names about the country's disintegration. Everything is going to pieces—thank God! Fiddling while Rome is burning. This is more or less the impression one gets from the underlying messages of many television programs, commentaries, and shows. I cannot describe this frame of mind as anything but a fit of insanity, a bout of senility that has befallen us all after tasting the raw fruits of democracy.

Try and mention just one civilized country where the mass media have so diligently—indefatigably, as it were—instilled in their audience or readership feelings of hopelessness, self-disparagement, and ridicule of everything that serious people call a nation's moral dignity, national interests, and pride in flag and traditions. If we compare this with the "good mood" of U.S. mass media, which are now held before us as examples to be emulated, the Americans could give us a 100-stroke handicap even when it comes to state patriotism, which is scorned in our country. After all, they actually punish by law any desecration of the country's symbols.

Whereas a man's heart might miss a beat on hearing his country's national anthem, some toady would palm off his former great power's flag, especially purchased for the occasion at the "Sportkulttorg" store, onto a visiting foreign tourist and would ecstatically enjoy the "rock" version of his fatherland's former national anthem. Just look at the foolish raptures with which we ourselves welcome the dirty tricks played on our own selves. The enthusiasm, worthy of better application, with which we enjoy the nectar of self-flagellation and the naive emotion with which we suffer the sounds of slaps on our own cheeks. Without even a hint of embarrassment.

No economy, not even a market economy, is ever likely to take off unless those working in it have at least some pride in being their fatherland's children. Look no further than the Japanese, who begin each working day with an anthem of loyalty to their firm and their country. Anyone who believes that we do not have to do as they do, and who uses the mass media to bolster feelings of social pessimism by just rewording the bolsheviks' primitive slogan "Proletarians have no fatherland," is guilty of a grave sin.

Not only is the intelligentsia not raising its voice in defense of the fatherland, but it is keeping silent and failing to protest against the cheapest of Western "kitsch" on our book shelves and the "tawdry offerings" on our television screens.

Maybe I have gone over the top in what I have said about the proportion of blame to be borne by the intelligentsia as regards the growing cultural decline and the "evacuation" moods which have gripped those engaged in mental labor, but I feel very disappointed and bitter because of all that is happening. My mental anguish is that much greater because the counterpoint of universal cynicism and surrender to the mercy of the cultural victor is the amazing ease and ardor with which nationalist ideas have captivated the minds of many of the former Union's eminent cultural figures. Can anyone dispute the lamentable fact that, all through the perestroyka years, our country as a whole simply failed to produce a pandemocratic movement of the intelligentsia which would oppose nationalist blindness.

The party nomenklatura rushed toward nationalism as if to a Western airport. The persecutors of the national spirit—like one of Hasek's satirical heroes who loved saying: "Just between ourselves, I am a Czech"—these chameleons, these people without root or tribe, are now

in the vanguard of the train of nationalism. You read the former communist newspapers in the republics and the mind boggles at the amount of slander, venom, enmity toward "foreigners," and unfair reproaches against "imperial" Russia that appear on paper. The unrealistic projects for "prosperity" devised by "nationally minded" economists. The way people are being led by the nose, the claims that Western capital is about to flood the republics as soon as a border strip is introduced between them and the Commonwealth. Where is it, this mythical capital, and what will its utilization produce?

Berdyayev, Korolenko, Ilin, and Solzhenitsyn are great because the could face the nation and tell it bluntly, without beating around the bush, about confusions which could prove fatal. Somehow, grim and farsighted prophets can hardly be heard in today's babel of voices. There is no one to warn and show the right path, to put the ranters to shame and give them correct advice. We politicians who were recruited by perestroyka have already committed quite a few serious mistakes. Today the country is at a crossroad, the risk is greater than ever, the mental depression is deep. The intelligentsia in each CIS state (this is my belief and my call) has no right to evade its duty. Morality and politics today are in an unprecedented collision. If culture remains aside, if it becomes a captive and servant of the "nationalist idea," an agonizing path of upheaval lies in store for Russia. [Rutskoy article ends]

"From the Editorial Office"—The IZVESTIYA Editorial Office did not commission Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy to write this article. It was sent to us by the vice president's press secretary, with his own covering note on official stationery. Under different circumstances, we might perhaps have telephoned the author and advised him to think again: This article's publication would not enhance his standing. We would not even have hesitated because he had not asked our opinion. But the article that was sent to us is yet another aspect of the overall picture of the vice president's political activeness. His statements against the reform policies pursued by his own government, following his recent tour of western Siberia, have circulated far and wide. PRAVDA has only just published his long article "In Defense of Russia." Next week he is expected to address the Congress of State and Patriotic Forces—an assembly which, judging by everything, is certainly not convened in support of the policy for which B. Yeltsin's and A. Rutskoy's voters cast their votes. It is incumbent upon us to appraise what we have read.

This is easier done on the basis of the article which is published today. Judging by its text, the vice president has not partaken of any holy communion at McDonalds—he has more than likely observed the line while driving past in his car. Had he talked to people in the line, he would have realized that they had gone there not for holy communion but for a bite to eat. It is very hard to find a bite to eat in Moscow and, in all probability, no other establishment feeds as many people as McDonalds. As a matter of fact, the problem lies not in whether the "trading outlet's" activity has been fairly appraised. Is the author fair to his fellow citizens when he accuses all and sundry of moral decline? Is such reproach merited by people who showed no fear of the tanks in August and survived the first and most difficult month of market reform with a staunchness that came as a surprise to political forecasters? How is one to appraise the vocabulary of a politician who does not feel ashamed of "affectionately treating" his colleagues in fraternal republics (who, as a matter of fact, were also elected mainly in nationwide elections) to descriptions like "the states' new 'godfathers'?" After this, who is likely to believe that he is concerned about the Commonwealth's unity?

"It is nevertheless a fact that the 'nation's conscience' went unheard by the people," according to A. Rutskoy who, as it now appears, is dissatisfied with the Belovezhskaya Forest agreements and is worried about the CIS's prospects. What can be said about this? It is not bad when a politician writes frequently for the newspapers, but it is desirable that he should read them on occasion. On the very first day after the agreements were published, for example, IZVESTIYA devoted two columns to them and they certainly did not contain only praise. While supporting the desire for unity we, like most other publications, voiced very many doubts and critical remarks. We would be so bold as to assert: All the criticism now leveled by A. Rutskoy at our leaders' policy toward the CIS is just a watered-down repetition of what our press wrote about six weeks ago. Why is it that he, the second most important man in the state, has taken so long to express his worry about its preservation?

As a matter of fact, A. Rutskoy's article in PRAVDA contains a more expanded presentation of his views regarding our statehood. In the context of that article, it is impossible not to ask: Is SUCH a defense of Russia's interests beneficial to it? For example, A. Rutskoy writes: "The appearance of border posts and barbed wire along the borders with the states contiguous to Russia will in no way facilitate the implementatio.: of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act..." Pearls of wisdom! They could be deemed an apt expression of support for B. Yeltsin's well-known idea that borders within the CIS must be transparent. Alas, the author goes further than that. The next paragraph reads: "The historical awareness of Russian citizens will not allow anyone to implement a mechanical combination of the borders of Russia and the Russian Federation, renouncing all that constituted the glorious pages of Russia's history." What does this mean? Could it be that the author imagines just a one-way transparency along the borders? Transparent borders from Russia in its neighbors' direction, but not the other way around? Not quite... Here is a third paragraph which merits attention, not just for content but also for style:

"And state leaders, especially those who came to power on the crest of a wave of national-careerism, 'should put that in their pipes and smoke it': No one will cede to them a single inch of sacred Russian soil. Decrees by the

former Communist rulers and the hasty decisions of the Politburo are not binding on us. For us the main decree is Russia's thousand-year history. The demarcation of borders, and nothing but the demarcation of borders will dot the 'i's' and define Russia as a power and not as a poor relation within the CIS."

Just a brief reflection would make it clear that talking about Russia's thousand-years long history means talking not about the Russian Federation but about the entire multinational state of the past, starting with the Russian Empire and ending with the USSR. Only the CIS could be the heir of this Russia, but this will happen only if we talk as little as possible of borders. If we thought not about the past but about the probable future, the political logic of the vice president's ideas coincides 100 percent with the logic which has only just and before our very eyes driven the Yugoslav Army into an attempt to "save" the Yugoslav Federation the way it sees fit. The fratricidal war did not protect either the old federation or the interests of Serbs in Croatia, but undermined for a long time to come any chances of people's prosperity in a new Yugoslavia—let alone the lives that have been lost. If our "nuclear missile area" takes a similar path, it will not be long before the planet goes up in smoke.

It is awkward to bring up elementary truths, but we have to: The Russian federation within the former USSR had a greater weight than all the other republics together. When a leader of such a power whispers, his voice is heard far away. But when he deems it necessary to address his weaker (economically and militarily) partners in ringing bass tones, this produces not a sense of strength but doubts about the perspicacity and advisability of such statements.

The vice president deemed it necessary to use the following words to describe his own president's government (which is noteworthy in itself) in PRAVDA: "Unfortunately, their strategy for the development of events looks just one or two moves ahead—they do not picture the game as a whole, nor do they realize that real life itself could force them into check-mate in a very short space of time." The subsequent criticism of the government adds nothing to what the vice president had said earlier and, just like before, is not followed by any constructive alternative suggestions. This is simply no material for a serious discussion. And yet, the vice president's chess metaphors make you think, seeing that he uses them in a highly alarming situation. Who is this—an author who has not considered even a single move, or a desperate chess player who is planning to check-mate someone else? It would be equally sad to see Russia's vice president in either of these two roles.

Vice President Rutskoy To Resume Duties 8 Feb

LD0502091592 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 5 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspodent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy will return back to his duties on February 8, after a month spent in hospital. He will attend the congress of the civil and patriotic forces of Russia which opens that day, TASS learned on Wednesday [5 February] from the organising committee of the congress.

The secretariat of the vice-president did not deny the information and added Rutskoy will be discharged from hospital this week and is to resume work next Monday [8 February].

Rutskoy, a decorated Afghan war veteran, passed a medical check-up of his wounds received in the Afghan war.

Former Prime Minister Interviewed on Reform

LD0502033892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Interview with former USSR Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov by correspondent Yevgeniy Kiselev; place and date not given; on the "Itogi" newscast; first paragraph is Kiselev's live studio introduction—recorded]

[Text] I really do not want any of our viewers to interpret our last report [Ryzhkov writing memoirs] as an attempt on our part to defend the former chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers or, God forbid, to poke fun at him. No, our aim was entirely different—to satisfy the interest that people may have in how one of the country's former leaders now lives his life. In any civilized country such interest would be considered quite natural and obvious. The problem of treating statesmen in a civilized way, once they retire, has still not been resolved in our country. We want to try to make own contribution to solving this problem and to continue inviting retired politicians, who were leaders in the past, to take part in our program as experts. Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov takes part in our program as an expert.

[Kiselev] Today, 2 February, is exactly a month since the economic reform, or the deregulation of prices we normally associate it began. A month has passed. What in your view are the results of this month?

[Ryzhkov] We have obtained the results which were to be expected. I, for example, did not expect any other results. Let me explain why. You probably remember the time 18 months ago when the government's program for the switch to the market was being discussed. There was also an alternative program for the switch to the market, the so-called 500-days program. In fact, there were many other programs too. But there were these two main programs. The 500-days program proposed the very option which is now being implemented. We were categorically opposed to it at the time. Therefore...

[Kiselev, interrupting] All the same, the 500-days program did envisage that the first step would be privatization and, only then, deregulation of prices.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, that is indeed so. But I would still like to say that we did our own projections on the proposed shock therapy. Our findings were that the results would be exactly what they have been. Therefore, we could not agree to it at that time. So, we proposed our own moderately radical program for the switch to the market. But, unfortunately, we were very rapidly characterized as conservatives.

[Kiselev] How do you actually regard yourself - as a conservative?

[Ryzhkov] I have never been a conservative. I have always belonged more to the radical wing. But my post, chairman of the Council of Ministers, always forced me to remain somewhere in the middle. Those who take a centrist position usually come under fire from both right and left. That is...

[Kiselev, interrupting] That is a fair observation but...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Yes.

[Kiselev] I would like to return to your views of Gaydar's reforms.

[Ryzhkov] I do not want to make assessments now, to draw conclusions as to who is right and who is wrong, to say, Boris, you are not right, or, Yegor, you are not right. Clearly, thought has to be given to ways of solving the problem.

[Kiselev] And how can this be done, in your view? What is to be done now? Maybe we should change the government?

[Ryzhkov] I do not think the government should be changed that quickly. That will not help. A new Gaydar will come along. A new man will come along. If he does things the same way as they are being done now, nothing will change. The economists who debated these points for 18 months are not very conspicuous at the moment. Where is Abalkin? Where is Shatalin?

[Kiselev] Abalkin is not a popular figure, you must agree.

[Ryzhkov] Why isn't he popular? I believe that Abalkin is one of our leading economists. Anybody faced with this situation could become unpopular. Do you think the people who have brought about this state of affairs are going to be popular? I do not think they will be popular either. Therefore, it is not a question of popularity. If we really intend to help the government, and I think it must be helped, we must forget who is red, who is white, who is a radical, who is a conservative and who is a centrist. I think that, in the first place, there must be some kind of intellectual opposition. This could include scientists and people closely involved with practical matters. The directors of certain plants and agricultural specialists must be drawn into this. Let them sit down, discuss the various questions and make proposals to the government. Then the government can decide whether to accept these proposals or not.

[Kiselev] If such a brain trust was created, would you personally agree to take part in it? Haven't you, to be frank, had a hard time of it from the political forces now in power? No doubt you feel resentment. Could you overcome it and take part in such a thing?

[Ryzhkov] I do not want to discuss who suffered what, although it was indeed a hard time. But bearing in mind the situation in the country, in the state, in Russia, I would forget all offense and take part. I would consider this to be my civic duty.

Paper Explains Dispute With Distributors

PM0402121092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 92 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[Mikhail Berger article: "Conflict Over Prices for Periodicals"]

[Text] The distributors propose that the cost of newspapers be increased four- or five-fold. IZVESTIYA is dissolving its contract with the Central Agency, in order to maintain an acceptable price for the newspaper.

The other day IZVESTIYA received yet another death notice—a letter from Viktor Tochilkin, chief of the "Soyuzpechat" Central Retail and Subscription Agency [CRSA]. The letter sets forth the terms on which the CRSA is prepared to continue to remit, dispatch, and distribute our newspaper and other IZVESTIYA publications. Or rather, just one term—the minimum price for the publication calculated by the agency. If the publication is cheaper than recommended by the CRSA, then, the letter says, "it will not be accepted for distribution, since in that event the CRSA will be unable to ensure that its expenses are covered."

You only have to take a look at the agency's calculations to realize that the proposed minimum prices are a death sentence or a notification of death, if the publication has no alternative. According to CRSA calculations, one copy of IZVESTIYA should cost at least 3 rubles [R], NEDELYA—R4.27, and SEMYA—R3.84. But this is what is known as the publisher's release price, that is, for this money we only hand over the newspapers for distribution. So the cost stated must be increased by a further 25 percent (the distributor's trade mark-up). Only in our wildest dreams would we imagine that even given today's universal hikes in prices and the inflation rate, people will buy newspapers—particularly daily newspapers—at the kiosks at R3-4 a copy. At least for the time being.

It should be stressed that we are talking about the kiosks, that is, retail trade, because the problems that were threatening to arise with the distribution of copies under subscriptions registered last year were resolved by a

government subsidy. Even this subsidy on communications services for subscriptions already sold will not save all publications from ruin, since nobody knows yet how much paper will cost in three months or six months from now and whether there will be the money to buy it.

Since last year, debates about prices for periodicals and distribution services have been flaring up with monotonous regularity. The scenario for these debates is also notable for its constancy. The communications people announce the introduction of new tariffs, citing increased costs; publishers and journalists in turn, citing the increasing importance of their labor to society, declare that as a result of the increased tariffs the price of the newspaper or journal will be beyond the readers' means.

It is not easy to assess who is more in the right in these disputes, who should give way, and at whose expense the problems should be resolved (and each side has cogent arguments). The sides put pressure on each other, one side exploiting its monopoly position, the other—public opinion. As a result the conflict gets settled one way or another, but the increasing regularity with which it flares up suggests that the sides will find it increasingly difficult to win public sympathy and funding to resolve their problems.

Before going into the nature of the confict itself, it is necessary to be aware of two fundamental things. First: The prices for the products and services of our partners in newspaper production (for paper, distribution, and so forth) are largely a triumph for our own propaganda (which in my view is quite right) of free market relations. This means that the demand for a "socialist stipend" to live on—a subsidy for your own loss-making condition, or else exceptional terms—is not entirely justified. However highly we may value our own role, the price of losses will sooner or later prove to be higher.

Second: The difficulties we (and the communications people) are experiencing are survivals of the nomenklatura-based existence of the press and distribution services throughout previous years. The nomenklatura system meant that if a publication was authorized, it received, virtually free, paper—the distribution of which was controlled not by the producer or even the Gosplan [State Planning Committee], but the party apparatus—and ink and premises. No one counted up "Soyuzpechat's" expenses either, because it was basically funded by the agitprop department, which merely issued instructions to "accept for distribution..." As a result the cost of newspapers and their distribution was purely symbolic.

Now that we and the distribution service have dropped out of the "economic nomenklatura," the time has come to clarify who is worth how much and who can do what, who should make profits and who losses. The "Soyuzpechat" CRSA estimated how much money it needs in the new conditions of free prices, plus a little bit of imagination, and the publishers (not only IZVESTIYA) received figures from the communications people two or three times higher than the prices that had already been calculated for newspapers and journals under the new conditions.

"Everything has gone up in price tenfold!.."—CRSA chief Viktor Tochilkin raised an argument that appears convincing at first glance. "Do you know how much a newspaper sack costs on the commodity exchange today?"

[IZVESTIYA] "And how many of them do you buy there?"

None, it turns out—there are direct contracts under which the price of these same sacks is considerably more favorable. Nor did we find out from Tochilkin any other items where costs have really increased tenfold.

"But we are basically traders and we have to cover our risk," Tochilkin says.

That is a more convincing argument than the first one—the sacred right of the trader to value his own risks at 100 or even 1,000 percent. But the consumer has an even more sacred right to pay or not to pay such a high price to cover the trader's risk, and it is the right of the producer to assess that readiess to pay and draw his own conclusions.

The setting of the crazy minimum price proposed by the CRSA was in fact influenced not so much by a market evaluation of the trader's risk, as by expectations of inflation and the associated desire to cover oneself with "spare" money and by the 25-percent limit on the trader's mark-up. The thought of their own material needs and expenses and also of the possible rise in prices prompted the CRSA to raise as high as possible the starting point (the minimum release price) on which the agency gets 25 percent. So naturally the CRSA wants the newspaper to cost as much as possible. It is clear from the calculations submitted by the agency that the distributors have allowed for very high profitability for themselves—up to 90 percent. All these astronomical tariffs and prices are supposed to come into effect from 1 February, otherwise, remembering the CRSA's warning, the publications will not be accepted for distribution.

As of 30 January not one newspaper, Tochilkin admitted, had accepted the CRSA's terms or was offering itself for distribution on those terms. Today the biggest publications, including IZVESTIYA, are seeking opportunities to do without such a costly intermediary. On 29 January our publishing house officially rejected the CSRA's services and is concluding as a matter of urgency direct contracts with regional enterprises for the distribution of the press, including such enterprises in Minsk, Kiev, Tashkent, Baku, and Yerevan. As yet not all regional services have entered into a new relationship with us on mutually advantageous terms (the publishing house hopes that this will happen), and therefore in the immediate future—not for long, we hope—there will be a reduction in the number of copies of IZVESTIYA

publications available for retail sale. But the price for them will be increasing only 30-50 percent rather than four- or five-fold.

Another equally important result is that the CRSA is already facing financial disaster—its clients are rejecting it, which means that either it will revise its terms, or else the question will arise as to how far its existence is justified, at least in its present form.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Appeals to Readers

PM0402121992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Feb 92 p 1

[Letter from SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA journalists: "We Are Counting on You. To Readers, Activists, and All Our Newspaper's Friends"]

[Text] Dear Readers!

It is possible that you will not see SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in "Soyuzpechat" kiosks today and that you will not be able to buy it anywhere. It pains us to write this, but we have to, since yet another act of arbitrariness is being committed against an independent people's newspaper—and indeed other publications—and we do not have the right to remain silent about this.

The point is that in the last few days of January the "Soyuzpechat" Central Retail Subscription Agency presented the publishing house and the editorial office with ultimatums, refusing to sell the newspaper if they were not fulfilled. Here is one of them, set forth in a letter from V.A. Tochilkin, head of the agency: Any publication whose price...is below the minimum price calculated by the Central Retail Subscription Agency will not be accepted for distribution as of 1 February 1992.

What is this "minimum price" calculated by "Soyuzpechat" experts on the basis of directive documents? For SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA it was set at 2.84 rubles.

Agreeing with this essentially means agreeing to fleece the readers. We are well aware of the fact that even the newspaper's current price of 60 kopeks (for a four-page issue) and 80 kopeks (for a six-page issue) is by no means accessible to everyone. If you increase it many times over, this will clearly reduce the readership still further. That is why we are appealing for help in selling the newspaper. Evidently, it will be possible to immediately start forming our own distribution and sale system in cities where SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is printed. We must beat a path to the reader everywhere where there is a need for truthful printed matter.

The editorial office has correspondents' centers and representations at local level as well as clubs of friends of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. We hope that, with their assistance, newspaper distribution networks will be set up everywhere. Obviously, their economic interest must also be taken into account at the same time; cooperation can and must be made mutually advantageous.

The editorial office is prepared to listen to any other proposals from labor collectives, entrepreneurs, private individuals, and workers from the various subdivisions and kiosks of the same "Soyuzpechat." We invite everyone who is not indifferent to the fate of the independent people's newspaper to collaborate and be our partners in the cause of distributing and selling SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Our telephone number is 257-26-09.

In one of the next few issues we will provide information on the whereabouts of our official representatives at local level.

We are really counting on you, our friends!

[Signed] SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA journalists

Paper Explains Pricing, Distribution Problems

MK0402145192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Feb 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "How Much Copy of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Costs and Why Price Is Not Marked Now"]

[Text] When it comes to distribution virtually all Moscow's publications are forced to use the services of the "Soyuzpechat" MGPO [expansion unknown] and the "Soyuzpechat" CRSA [Central Retail and Subscription Agency]. The services that these organizations provide are those of intermediaries and, consequently, the 25-percent markups are confined to the producer's retail price. However, in the opinion of these organizations, even the current fairly high prices of periodicals cannot cover their newspaper and journal circulation costs and for that reason publications have to raise their prices considerably (according to "Soyuzpechat" CRSA calculations, their profitability should not drop below 50 percent). Thus, according to MGPO calculations, in Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA should as of 1 February be distributed via "Soyuzpechat" kiosks at a retail price of 1 ruble [R] 70 kopeks and around the country (according to CRSA calculations) at a price of R4.24, which is not acceptable for a daily newspaper even with the current multiple price hikes for goods and services.

There is one way out of this situation: In order to be affordable to readers NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA must pay newspaper delivery transport costs—a total of 14.6 kopeks for Moscow and 32 kopeks for every copy of the newspaper distributed around the republic.

In February NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA will still cost 80 kopeks at "Soyuzpechat" kiosks in Moscow and R1.60 in other cities. This price may change in March.

But the actual price is not marked on the newspaper now, since that is the decision of the Ministry of Press and Information and Russia's State Committee for Quality Control and Standards.

'Soyuzpechat' Aide on Deregulated Paper Prices

PM0402152592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 92 p 1

[Interview with V. Tochilkin, chief of the "Soyuzpechat" Central Retail and Subscription Agency, by unidentified correspondent: "How Are the Papers Going To Survive?"]

[Text] [Tochilkin] We must switch to fundamentally new economic arrangements with publishing houses: to deregulated selling prices. The thing is that we can only add 25 percent to deregulated selling prices for sales to the public. The money we get is obviously inadequate for the purpose of dispatching the press, because prices of operating materials, electricity, and so on have increased sharply.

So, in this case, the approach to pricing is different. These costs connected with forwarding and dispatch can be met not only on the basis of added value, or even not on the basis of added value, but on the basis of a definite cost price for a publication. Then the actual price of the publication can be regulated in quite a different way. Life is prompting a more commercial approach to these matterrs.

In conditions of free prices, the cost of PRAVDA and all the other papers will increase. So no editorial office can manage without a reliable economic service. Specialists are needed to deal with economic questions and marketing matters, and also to look for an newspaper distribution system as an alternative to "Soyuzpechat." Only those who follow this path will survive.

Media Minister Comments on Russian Press House

PM0402142992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Gennadiy Lyubertsev report: "Homeless Russian Publications Find a Home"]

[Excerpts] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has supported a proposal by the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information and signed the decree "On the Creation of the Russian Press House." It will be housed in the building at 26 Pushkin Street in Moscow, where the Council of Ministers of the former Union used to be located.

Commenting on the president's decision, Russian Press and Information Minister Mikhail Poltoranin said that this step is aimed at further strengthening freedom of the press and ensuring the activities of the Russian mass media. [Passage omitted]

In conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent the Russian press and information minister also added that the department which he heads will advance other initiatives too. M. Poltoranin believes that support for and the strengthening of the material base of publications must undoubtedly be encouraged by the state, particularly at the present complex time of free prices and the rising cost of living. "Otherwise," he said, "many publications that constitute a kind of national cultural asset could find themselves on the verge of collapse. We cannot allow this cultural stratum to be cut."

'Barely Enough' Food To Meet Half Demand

LD0402130192 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 4 TASS—The present amount of food stocks in Russia is barely enough to meet half the demand, Russia's Goskomstat (statistics) committee has reported. The available stocks of beef and poultry will be sold out in 19 days, butter in 30, sugar in 41 days, and vegetable oil in 20 days, the PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK newspaper says, citing Goskomstat sources.

Russia's share in the Soviet Union's imports last year fell from 25 per cent to 10 per cent, according to Vasiliy Tikhonov, deputy chairman of the Trade Committee of the Russian Ministry of Trade and Material Resources.

Tikhonov said that Russia's neighbors failed to supply food as agreed. Ukraine, for instance, provided only 1,000 tonnes of beef to Moscow and St. Petersburg instead of the planned 30,000 tonnes in the first three months of this year. Belarus supplied only 4,000 tonnes of meat products out of agreed 46,000 tonnes. As for non-food commodities, no supplies have yet been shipped by the Commonwealth member-countries this year.

In order to rectify the situation it is necessary to buy at least 2,500,000 tonnes of meat and meat products, 100,000 tonnes of milk powder, 536 tonnes of butter, 4,100,000 tonnes of raw sugar and other food products.

Many contracts have been signed with Western firms but supplies are slow in coming. According to Tikhonov, major German and Italian credit lines have not yet been set in full motion because of bureaucratic procedures and lack of efficiency on this side.

In addition, the disintegrating Vnesheconombank of the former USSR is losing credit with Western money lenders and the Russian Vneshtorgbank has not yet won a reputation with them.

Government Foresees 1st Quarter Price Decline

LD0502121792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At today's meeting with journalists, members of the Government of Russia Aleksandr Mukhin and Andrey Nechayev [deputy minister of economy and finance] outlined the economic situation that took shape in January following the beginning of the radical reforms.

The first market measures in Russia turned out to be close to what was intended, the speakers opined. However, the explosion of price increases was much stronger than the Government had expected. Nonetheless, this is what the market means in real terms. The prices, which had gone berserk, began to stabilize in some places and even to go down in some cases, influenced by the objective curtailment of the demand.

On the basis of the information that is coming in, the Government reckons that prices will inevitably begin to decline by approximately 10 percent a month toward the end of the first quarter. One more problem that requires an immediate solution is the growing inflation, against the backdrop of the shortage of cash. Some enterprises fail to market their output but, nevertheless, demand that the state make credits available to them to pay wages. Once the state's credits have been made subject to stricter conditions, this post-socialist attitude will become impossible.

Complications also arise with regard to the Commonwealth neighbors. Food imports from the West to Russia have become more complicated. Earlier, the deliveries were by the sea route, through the Baltic countries and the Ukraine. Now transit operations and the use of somebody else's ports are becoming yet another article of Russian expenditure.

Nonetheless, the ruling politicians and economists have no doubt that the reforms are correct. The second month of economic reform has begun.

Economists Forecast Commodity Price Increases

PM0402114592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 92 p 3

[Fedor Kulayev report under the "Exchange Affairs" rubric: "Higher and Steeper—About Prices"]

[Excerpt] Exchange trade is directly dependent on the state's economic policy. Legislative acts govern the sides' relations and define the limits of what is possible and not possible in the economic activity of enterprises and organizations. The recent Russian decree on state regulation of deliveries of individual types of output and commodities outside the Russian Federation in 1992, to contiguous states making up the Commonwealth of Independent States, undoubtedly protects Russia's domestic market. But it also restrains the market by creating additional difficulties in establishing economic ties. Protective measures sharply limit the possibility of drawing into free turnover the volume of commodities—insignificant as it is—which have come into market commodity dealing.

A hike in the prices of the basic types of raw materials—fuel, timber, chemical commodities, construction materials, and paper—is natural and inevitable under such extraordinary conditions. According to economists' forecasts, market prices will increase 40-50 percent in the very near future for gasoline and 60 percent for timber and sawn timber. Paper will rise in price by 30-50 percent. The prices of construction materials will increase with all the negative consequences in many spheres of industrial and civil construction.

The forecast of prices for the beginning of 1992 by the Interrepublic Universal Commodity Exchange is more optimistic. It has been compiled with due regard for the change in prices on the exchange in the main groups of raw material commodities in 1991.

The growth in prices will stand at 50 percent for the ferrous metals group, 35-40 percent for fuel, 25-30 percent for gasoline, 30-40 percent for timber and sawn timber, and 15 percent for pulp and paper products.

According to the exchange's statistical data, last year prices increased as follows:

by an average of 250 percent for ferrous metals, 70 percent for fuel, 30 percent for sawn timber, and 15 percent for pulp and paper products. [passage omitted]

Numerous Strikes Reported Throughout Republic

OW0502130992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1134 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Russia's interior ministry, in the past 24 hours medics, teachers, drivers and representatives of other occupations staged strikes and meetings of protest in many cities of the Russian Federation.

Some 500 members of Moscow's Sklifesevsky emergency-aid institute held a meeting, demanding independence for medical institutions and modern equipment.

In Pskov some 1000 health service workers went on strike, demanding higher wages. Their counterparts in the town of Porokhov had to end their 5-day strike which had yielded no results.

In the town of Vyksha, Nizhny Novgorod Region, teachers were on strike for 9 days, but gained nothing. In Tver Region the authorities met the demands of medics who had been on strike since January 27, and raised their wages. Airmen in Bilibin District, Magadan Region, and drivers in Ivanovo had their demands met.

In Briansk medics were joined by teachers and cultural workers. They called for additional funds to finance the work of their institutions. In Sverdlovsk Region on strike are some 400 teachers from Nizhny Tagil, medics from the town of Pelevsky, drivers from Kachkanar, judges from the town of Revda and their counterparts from Ekaterinburg's Lenin District. In Vorkuta 1850 education workers have been on strike since January 22.

In the past 24 hours labor actions involved miners in Belokalitvin District, Rostov Region, and drivers from the Kogalym oil and gas association in Tyumen Region.

General Cites Need for Military Doctrine

LD0502091692 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—Discontent is simmering in the armed forces of former Soviet republics and unless something is done, it can explode into a civil war, a senior Russian military official said in a newspaper on Wednesday [5 February].

"Officers' concern for their future has reached the limit, beyond which ungovernable processes can begin, especially in military units stationed in crisis regions," Russian Federation Security Adviser General Konstantin Kobets writes in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

Commonwealth republics should help the armed forces tackle urgent problems and pass new laws on political, social and economic rights for servicemen and their families, Kobets said.

He also doubted the viability of the Commonwealth of Independent States, saying a war could break out between individual republics. "Are we excluding the possibility of a war between CIS members? The war is already going on—between Armenia and Azerbaijan," he said.

Russia should devise its own military doctrine and is about to create its own army, he believes.

"We should state honestly and definitely that Russia has its own state interests, which it will defend by force or a threat of force. Because of this we will have to devise a military doctrine and create a Russian Army," he stressed.

When building its army, Russia will stem not so much from its defence requirements, but from its limited economic abilities, he said.

Supreme Soviet

Further Reportage on KGB Role in Coup Attempt

Stepashin Recalls Arrest Plans

LD0402180292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Nikolay Artemyev report]

[Text] Parliamentary hearings on the role of the repressive bodies of the former Union in the August putsch were held today. Our special correspondent Nikolay Artemyev has the details:

[Artemyev] Sergey Stepashin, head of the commission investigating the circumstances of the putsch; Yevgeniy Lisov, deputy procurator general of Russia; Viktor Barannikov, minister of security; and Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Foreign Intelligence Service, took part in the hearings. They gave their assessments of the role of the former KGB in the August events. Vadim Bakatin, who occupies no state post at present, but who is undoubtedly a competent and, moreover, independent specialist in this matter, also spoke. He pointed out in particular that the situation now is much more serious than in August owing to the growth of, as he put it, neo-Bolshevism and nationalism.

Vadim Bakatin stressed that in order for the former Committee for State Security to cease being a threat to democratic society, the concept of security needs to be developed, priorities determined, and a legal basis for its activity created.

The idea of the need for the urgent adoption of laws on the security bodies was heard in virtually all speeches, both by deputies and by the heads of the special services. So far, the state security bodies, in practice, remain outside the control of society, as was the case throughout the long years of Bolshevik power. It was precisely this lack of control that allowed them to play an ominous role in the August events—about which no one no longer has any doubts after these hearings.

Sergey Stepashin reported, for example, that the KGB leadership had prepared to arrest Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, Silayev and other leaders of the Russian Federation. One can judge the scope of KGB participation in the August events if only from the fact that the list of persons against whom full surveillance was organized included Afanasyev, Kasparov, Likhachev, Starovoytova, Rasputin, Zhvanetskiy, Zadornov [the last two are comedians], and many others. As you can see, even comedians posed a threat in the view of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Facts were made public about the preparations for the storming of the White House. This did not take place only because no appropriate command was given.

The KGB no longer exists in its previous form, but to prevent the special services, which have inherited its potential, from becoming a threat to democratic society, a precise mechanism for controlling them is essential and an appropriate legislative basis is required. Recommendations on such draft laws are to be submitted in the very near future, and this will evidently be the main result of the hearings on the role of the repressive bodies of the former Union in the August putsch.

Agents 'May Still Be Operating'

PM0502114492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Sergey Chugayev report: "KGB Agents Are Working in the Russian Parliament and 'Democratic Russia'"]

[Text] This report was probably the most intriguing in the course of the parliamentary hearings that began at the Russian Supreme Soviet 4 February, devoted to the role of the repressive organs of the former USSR in the preparation and execution of the unconstitutional coup 19-21 August 1991.

S. Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Security, confirmed that according to information in his possession steps were taken by the KGB to place agents in democratic organizations and in the Russian deputies' corps. But he did not give the agents' names or say how many there were of these agents, who may still be operating, on the grounds that to do this today is, first, technically impossible, and, second, not politically expedient. He was also unable to give guarantees that the telephones of members of parliament are not bugged today.

Otherwise, the commission's findings added little to the information that has already become public knowledge. The commission finished its work quite a long time ago and reported on its results, at the time, to M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin, but at the request of General Prosecutor V. Stepankov—as S. Stepashin explained—it refrained from publishing its materials pending the completion of the investigation into the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] case. Nonetheless nearly all the results of the commission's work became known as a result of repeated information leaks.

Perhaps the main point in Stepashin's remarks is the view that despite all the lessons of August, to this day it has not been possible to place the operations of the special services in Russia under effective public, state, and parliamentary control. The participants in the hearings agreed that it is necessary to accelerate the drafting of legislation to regulate the activity of security organs.

[Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 February 1992 carries on its front page a report by I. Sichka on the hearings, containing the following passage: "S. Stepashin also stated that at present he cannot confidently state that the unlawful bugging of telephones and premises in the White House has stopped. However, deputies were unable to obtain from V. Barannikov, the present chief of the Russian state security organs, any cogent refutation of this suspicion. 'I personally have not signed any such orders,' he stated. And I am willing to believe him. Kryuchkov also gave no written directives on this, it was all done on the basis of verbal instructions."]

Gorbachev Coup Role Viewed

LD0402184992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1420 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] [Announcer] The question of the involvement of the bodies of repression in the preparation of the 19 August coup was examined in Russia's Parliament today. You can hear some details in the conversation between our correspondent, Lyudmila Semina, and one of the commission's experts, Dr. of Philosophical Sciences Boris Mikhaylovich Pugachev:

[Begin recording] [Pugachev] We made a most careful study of the archives of the Committee for State Security [KGB]. We studied carefully the correspondence between the president of the USSR and the leadership of the KGB during the 80's and 90's. Our conclusions: Attempts to exert pressure upon the democratic forces, attempts to remove the democratic forces from the political arena, were being hatched by the Committee for State Security in the autumn of 1990. Kryuchkov repeatedly sent letters to Gorbachev, the aim of which was the introduction of a state of emergency and the use of acts of force and repressive actions against the democratic forces. We found all the correspondence that preceded the use of troops in Vilnius. It was addressed to Gorbachev directly by the leadership of the Committee. We found letters calling for acts of force against the Russian Parliament in March of last year.

We are deeply convinced that Gorbachev was informed about all of these actions. Moreover, we came to the conclusion that Gorbachev bears political responsibility for the lack of control over the activity of the state security organs and for the clandestine activity that they carried out for a year to overthrow the legitimate bodies of power—this is Gorbachev's direct political responsibility. We found documents testifying to large-scale surveillance of Union and Russian deputies abroad, and it is striking that the most careful surveillance was of the deputies closest to Gorbachev—like Shatalin; a huge file was kept on him here.

On the first copy we found a resolution detailing how Gorbachev was using this material from the surveillance of deputies in one of his articles. But afterwards, a week later, the first copy was destroyed. We asked for a second copy. We have been given that copy, and the documents are still there, they remain. But this kind of work was carried out by our espionage services, work that does not strengthen security, but destroys it.

We found a mass of documents containing evidence of anticonstitutional activity by the Committee for State Security. And in fact, Gorbachev, the president of the USSR, was informed about this work and Gorbachev took no steps to halt this anticonstitutional activity by the Committee for State Security. Throughout 1990 and 1991, staff of the "Z" [as heard] Directorate and workers of the Security Committee intercepted letters sent through the mail, examined correspondence and bugged telephone conversations. There were secret searches of the apartments of people active in political parties and movements which is generally impermissible.

During the parliamentary hearings, when the question was put to Barannikov, the current state security chief, as to whether such anticonstitutional actions are possible today, Barannikov said that he cannot give a guarantee that it cannot happen. The departmental instructions which exist in the Committee for State Security make it possible to conduct surveillance of any political movements, or of the corps of deputies, or of any citizen. Nothing has yet changed with regard to the activity of the Committee for State Security.

I have in front of me a list...

[Semina interrupts] Half a page long.

[Pugachev] Half a page long—of people about whom information was gathered: Bella Akhmadulina, Bulat Okudzhava, Oleg Yefremov, Anatoliy Rybakov, Alla Pugacheva, Anatoliy Pristavkin, Vladimir Dudintsev, Moiseyev, Tarkovskiy, Khazanov, Messerer, Mikhalkov-Konchalovskiy, Tolstaya, Kaputikyan, Afanasyev, Yankovskiy, Kasparov, Kondratyev, Grekova, Petrushevskaya, Kartens, Strelyanyy, Vorutin, Karyakin, Likhachev, Panfilov, Starovoytova, Borodin, Deych, Grigorovich, Vovkov, German, Rozov, Yerofeyev, Aytmatov, Mironov, Spivakov, Vasilyev, Zhvanetskiy, Zadornov, Abdulov, Koryagin, Shchekochikin, and many others.

[Semina] Yes, a list of our entire intellectual elite.

[Pugachev] But think about where the taxpayers' money was being spent. We stumbled upon the financing of a wide network of informers in the Moscow Arts Theater, the Bolshoy Theater, the Union of Writers of the USSR, the Union of Film-makers, humanitarian institutions, Goskontsert [state concerts organization of USSR Ministry of Culture], eye microsurgery, and in many other organizations. It is essentially criminal activity. We came to the conclusion that the current state security bodies do not come under presidential or parliamentary control, either.

[Semina] The issue concerning the authors of the "Word to the People," which made its appearance literally just a few days before the putsch—including Bondarev and Prokhanov. Is there any documentary evidence about links with the State Committee for the State of Emergency, or was this just an impulse?

[Pugachev] I would answer this question as follows. Along with the state security documents, we made a careful study of the current archives of the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party. There were dozens of notes made by secretaries of the Russian Communist Party and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee. And there were also the plans for using force to put pressure on the democratic bodies of power, plans for introducing a state of emergency—they were discussed among these Communist Party and nationalist circles. They were dumbstruck by the failure of the putsch. But now all of this has been stepped up and enlivened. The same heroes who signed the "Word to the People" are now calling upon the people to rebel.

[Semina] We journalists felt special pressure upon ourselves during the last few months before the putsch. I was working in the parliamentary unit from the very start, and in principle we were able to invite any deputy to speak live on air. Latterly, however, there was a clampdown, and literally several months before the putsch, during the extraordinary congress, some of the unit was removed, repressed, so to speak. Are there any documents directly related to the activities of Kravchenko among the participants in the putsch?

[Pugachev] At the bottom of a bundle of correspondence between the USSR president and the KGB, we found a letter authorized by Kravchenko—his last letter as leader of Gosteleradio—which provided for the introduction of censorship and draconic measures and for taking a number of journalists off the air. Kravchenko authorized all that. The letter was not publicized, but it is there in the archives. No assessment of it was given. Even the journalists were not told. Kravchenko left, and a political assessment of his activity was then given.

I would like to say one thing. A great deal is now being written in the press, and there is a great deal of sympathy for Gorbachev, the former president of the USSR. For some reason, journalists are shy of talking about Gorbachev's role during the country's slide toward this putsch. But the most curious thing is that we have found the instructions of many political figures, both in the archives of the KGB and in the archives of the CPSU, but Gorbachev has provided a minimum quantity of written sources.

At the same time, key documents which testified to the violence in the Baltic republics, which testified to the mass surveillance of the intelligentsia, to anticonstitutional and illegal pressure upon the democratic forces, did not pass Gorbachev by. But a political assessment of Gorbachev's responsibility for everything that has happened with us is a topical issue. That is my profound opinion.

[Semina] Boris Mikhaylovich, aren't you afraid? I am still afraid. I can feel in my bones that standing behind us all the time are forces that are waiting for an opportunity to deal with all those who followed the democrats.

[Pugachev] The slogans of democracy are left hanging in the air, they are simply left hanging. And they are left hanging not because the gift of freedom is illusory, but because there is a very serious economic situation in the country. No true way out can be seen, and on this wave of general apathy, dissatisfaction, and criticism of the government, the right-wing forces are quite capable of making a new attempt to break through to power. [end recording]

Alleged Intelligence Link Denied

LD0402174392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Feb (TASS)—"The intelligence service, as part of the former KGB, was not involved in the coup last August," Yevgeniy Primakov, general director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service said today at the parliamentary hearings on the role of the special services in preparing and executing the putsch. In order to exclude the foreign intelligence service from a system which could threaten the constitutional order of the state, the intelligence service, its head suggests, "should be under supervision [pod kontrolem], but under specific supervision, executed in such a way so as not to be to the detriment of intelligence operations." He advocated the passing of a special law on the intelligence service.

Yevgeniy Primakov rejected the assertions of certain of the media about his being involved with the secret services when he worked as a journalist in the Near East. At the same time, in his present capacity he sees nothing bad if a correspondent voluntarily carries out individual jobs for the secret services.

Asked whether the intelligence service will take part in the search for secret CPSU accounts, Yevgeniy Primakov emphasized that any requests from Russia's Procuracy on this score will be met.

Barranikov Urges 'Strict Control'

LD0402194992 Moscow TASS in English 1927 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 4 TASS—"Activities of state security bodies must be under strict control of the parliament," Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov told today's hearings on the role of repressive bodies of the former Soviet Union in the preparations and holding of the state coup in August, 1991.

Barannikov called for the soonest adoption of a corresponding law, the core of which should be "the protection of the constitutional system of the state and our citizens."

The minister said almost 500,000 citizens of the former Soviet Union were watched by the KGB over the past 45 years and the reorganization of secret services has put an end to shadowing as a method of fight against dissidents.

He decisively refuted claims that there are people in the security bodies working to reanimate the Emergency Committee. Barannikov noted he calls for immediate replacement of high ranking officials of the territorial security bodies who have compromised themselves.

Further Comments by Officials

OW0402153992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at the parliamentary hearings on the repressive bodies' role in the coup last August, Director of the Russian Intelligence Service Yevgeniy Primakov said there was no information pointing to the former KGB's involvement in it.

He admitted at the same time that formerly there was too much ideology in the KGB's intelligence activity, while intelligence agents were involved in the transfer of money to foreign parties, although they did not initiate such things.

Yevgeniy Primakov said that a law on intelligence should be adopted as soon as possible, and that a parliamentary oommission should be set up to exercise control over its work.

Yevgeniy Lisov, Head of the Russian Procurator Office's group for investigating the circumstances of the putsch, stated during the hearings that the investigators had no information about any underground group contemplating a putsch.

Former Chairman of the KGB Vadim Bakatin said, however, that the current situation in Russia "was even more dangerous than in August". He said that the worst threat was coming from "national-patriotic improvisation against the background of mounting aggressiveness in the Commonwealth republics", and from the merger of neo-Bolshevism and national-patriotism. He also said that the habit of reorganizing the Russian secret services was fraught with new dangers and that these services geeded to be de-centralized.

He urged to conclude a treaty on Commonwealth security that would, among other things, coordinate the intelligence agencies' activity.

Russian Minister for Security Viktor Barannikov urged parliament to adopt without delay a law on Russia's state security.

He said that 15 senior security officials had been dismissed and that the possibility of dismissing 12 more officials is being considered. Viktor Barannikov also said that from 1918 to 1990, 3,853,900 people had been convicted for charges brought by the KGB. More than 2.558 million people have been rehabilitated.

Official Views CIS, Reforms, Other Issues

AU0402154292 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 92 p 14

[Interview with Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, by Jan Zizka in Moscow; date not given: "We Forced a Way of Life on You in 1968"]

[Excerpts] "I participated in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 as a 22-year-old lieutenant in the Soviet Army," said Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, in an interview with RUDE PRAVO. He replied to our questions on the current situation in Russia. [passage omitted]

[Zizka] As a representative of the Russian parliament, do you think the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] has a future?

[Ryabov] Today's Commonwealth probably has no future. This is just the first step, a political step. Ridding the center and the union structures of power was the main thing. A commonwealth is inevitable from a historical point of view. However, it is impossible to establish a commonwealth in a month or even a year. The question is, which republics will be its members. In my opinion, Russia, the Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Armenia will certainly be involved.

[Zizka] Do you think economic reform in Russia is moving in the right direction?

[Ryabov] It is moving in the right direction, because we have no other course to follow. Its practical implementation is something else. The government is preparing all the documents and decrees, but people assume they will be fulfilled automatically. We need meticulous organizational and technical work, cadre training, and management.

[Zizka] Is there anxiety about social unrest?

[Ryabov] We cannot discount the possibility of social explosions. Society is in turmoil and provocations are occurring. For example, a rumor was spread in Karelia that bread would run out within two days. People bought it all up. We require measures of an educational nature and we need to transport goods to areas where there are problems. We need to utilize our reserves.

[Zizka] A great deal is being said across the CIS' borders about the former Soviet nuclear weapons. Can they be used?

[Ryabov] These anxieties are just hypothetical. Could nuclear weapons have been used 10 years ago? It is difficult to say. It was impossible to completely discount this possibility then, and it is impossible now. Supervision of our strategic nuclear weapons is absolutely adequate. Tactical weapons could perhaps be used—therefore, it is necessary to create guarantees in this sphere.

[Zizka] In your opinion, will there be any changes in Russia's foreign policy?

[Ryabov] We are beginning to shape our foreign policy. Relations with the former Warsaw Pact states will be renewed as soon as our economy improves. Why is cooperation with the CSFR and other countries disintegrating? They themselves are in a difficult situation and need hard currency. If we achieve the ruble's convertibility this year, our relations will improve next year. The Slavic factor always has great significance. Political changes will not mean that our friendship will collapse. Our friendship will be more honest and more open under the new conditions.

[Zizka] Thank you for the interview.

Commission To Reform State Security Bodies

OW0402020292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1843 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [3 February] the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Council set up a parliamentary commission on the reform of the state security bodies. It was charged with preparing proposals on the reform and the implementation of the personnel policy. At a joint meeting on Friday [7 February] the chambers are expected to discuss in the second reading a draft law on security of the Russian Federation and the issue of forming the structure and personnel of the Federal Security Ministry.

Chairman of parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov told the Presidium Monday that the parliament should establish control over hard currency spendings and return to the problem of the golden and diamond reserves' transfer to the central bank. He also stressed the need to create "an independent licencing committee following rumours that the administration and the government are corrupt and that they issue licences irregularly."

Inter-Parliament Summit To Be Held 26-27 Feb

OW0302195292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1843 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] First Deputy Cnairman of the Russian parliament Sergey Filatov told the parliamentary presidium Monday [3 February] that the Commonwealth member states are considering the proposal to hold a meeting of the Commonwealth heads of parliaments in Moscow February 26-27. He informed the presidium about the results of the January 24 meeting of the Commonwealth parliaments' representatives in Minsk.

The Presidium passed a resolution on plans to set up in the near future an interparliamentary assembly of the Commonwealth countries and the Economic Court, to prepare a draft agreement on adjusting the republican legislations in the economic sphere and on setting up an interparliamentary information bureau, etc.

Price Regulation Resolution To Be Revised

OW0502132792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1134 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [5 February] the council of the republic of Russia's parliament decided to consider at the plenary session to be held on Thursday [6 February] by both houses the joint resolution "On Social Security and Price Regulation for Some Products" adopted by the Parliament's presidium and the government. This issue has also been raised at the council of nationalities. Adopted on Monday, the resolution sanctions budget deficit in the amount of 25 billion rubles which, according to some MPs [members of parliament], signifies diversion from the road to free market. Besides, many MPs believe that the parliament's presidium exceeded its power when it adopted the joint resolution with the government instead of submitting its draft to the MPs.

Resolution on Use of Federal Road Stock

PM0502143792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Feb 92 First Edition p 2

["Resolution of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet On the Ratification of the Procedure for the Formation and Use of the Russian Federation Federal Road Stock," signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and dated 23 January 1992]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet **resolves**:

1. To ratify the procedure for the formation and use of the resources of the Russian Federation's Federal Road Stock (appended).

2. To ban the use of the resources of the Russian Federation Federal Road Stock for the upkeep of the apparatus of the administration of ministries and departments.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet
Moscow, House of the Soviets of Russia
23 January 1992

Tatarstan's 'Alternative Parliament' Criticized

LD0502141892 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—A Russian parliament commission today denounced Tatarstan's attempts to set up alternative power structures in the republic, saying they were unconstitutional.

Decisions by congresses of national public movements to declare new national-state formations and to set up alternative power structures "do not reflect genuine societal requirements, are legally unfounded and often contradict the constitution of the Russian Federation and other republics incorporated in Russia", the Commission on National-State Structures and Inter-Ethnic Relations said in a statement on the issue.

Such actions "can aggravate inter-ethnic relations that have deteriorated recently, foil radical economic reforms and threaten Russia's unity and integrity," the commission stressed.

At a recent congress in Tatarstan, participants decided to set up an alternative parliament—majles. Earlier, similar steps were taken by national movements in Kabardino-Balkaria and Karachaevo-Cherkessiya.

"Unconstitutional steps, when national movements, bowing to destructive forces, assume uncharacteristic state functions, weakening legitimately-elected authorities and violating the territorial integrity of republics in the Russian Federation, must not be allowed," the document said.

"In these conditions, we believe the Russian Supreme Soviet ought to take constitutional measures to avert dangerous developments in the country, stemming from the fact that the crisis can only be overcome jointly, on the basis of equality and trust, and relying on laws," it said.

The statement called on all national movements and their leaders to refrain from anti-constitutional actions that could result in lawlessness and differentiate between genuine national interests and nationalism. The commission also called on parliaments and leaders of republics within Russia and law-enforcement bodies to do everything possible to avert an escalation of ethnic tensions and ensure security and legal rights for all citizens of the Russian Federation.

Senezh Forum Sits 30 Jan, Discusses Program

PM0402143592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary observer Robert Minasov report under the rubric "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet": "'Senezh Forum' for Revival of Russia"]

[Excerpts] Parliamentary observer Robert Minasov reports from the White House.

The name of this forum relates to the fact that the first conference was held in the town of Senezh near Moscow two years ago. The forum obtained its legal status at the end of last year. Its aim is to prepare a state program for the Russian Federation's national revival. [passage omitted]

The program compilers are noting that the situation prevailing in Russia requires the creation of a modern concept for the Federation's national-state setup. [passage omitted]

In this connection there is a need to revise Russian legislation on the former autonomous republics, to reject the practice of imposing rights and obligations on them from above, and to recognize in practice their declarations of sovereignty.

These ideas were particularly stressed at the 30 January session in the speech by R. Abdulatipov.

The compilers of the draft program, proceeding on the basis of recognition of the active role played by legislation in solving the problems of social life, propose highlighting three programs: The first would resolve the general problems of the national-state setup; the second would research the state and legal status of the republics within the Russian Federation and its national autonomous areas; and the third would cover the state and legal problems of reviving, preserving, and developing the Russian Federation's numerically small peoples and ethnic minorities.

Leaders of relevant groups and leading academic specialists spoke on different sections of the draft program. Taking account of their proposals and comments, it was

deemed expedient to finalize a draft program and submit it for examination by the Russian Supreme Soviet in February.

Regional Affairs

Tatarstan Leader Defends Price Liberalization

LD0502054992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 3 Feb 92

["Novosti" interview with Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaimiyev by unidentified correspondents; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Things taking place now allow journalists and economists to talk about landslide price liberalization. But not all regions of the Russian Federation have followed the government. For example, Tatarstan and its President Shaimiyev have taken a special position.

[Correspondent] Today when the Commonwealth's economy is being shaken by all possible woes, what is your view of the state of Tatarstan's economy?

[Shaimiyev] The things that are taking place in the country as a whole, in the Commonwealth member states, affect our republic, too, no doubt about it. I would say that whatever the difficulties, Tatarstan's national economy is operating quite steadily. We adopted a whole package of legislative acts on land reform, a law on income indexation, and a law on property before many other regions did this. A law on privatization is about to be adopted. So these processes are under way here. As regards price liberalization, however, we have greatly extended a list of controlled prices, especially for January.

[Correspondent] Since you are keeping prices under control, doesn't this mean that you do not strive toward creating a market, eventually?

[Shaimiyev] No, we understand clearly that we cannot remain an island in this process, and we are not going to. I understand perfectly that there will be the same end result for all, either in the second half of this year or the end of the year, and we will have free prices, too. They will be the same in a single economic space. But I reiterate that we must measure this up against the changing living standards. I think that full liberalization of purchase prices is not justified today.

Delivers Economic Report

LD0502062892 Moscow TASS in English 0928 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan February 4 (TASS)—"The Tatarstan Government's strategy is to switch over to a market economy according to plan," President Mintimer Shaimiyev told a session of the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet here.

His report on the current situation focused on the programme for the social protection of the republic's population. Prices of meat, dairy, and bakery products, as well as sugar, flour, cereals, and vegetables shall remain regulated this February. Four million roubles of subsidies have been allocated for this purpose from the republic's budget.

"We must prevent the state and collective farms from curtailing their production. This is the main danger that must be warded off," Shaimiyev said. The republic has earmarked 2.5 billion roubles from its budget for the first time to strengthen these husbandries this year. However, they will not get cash money, but tractors and harvester combines, fertilizers and building materials instead. Agriculture has been exempt from taxes for transport and immovable property. It now has to pay only 50 per cent of the cost of electricity.

Assesses Kazan Assembly

LD0502035192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1142 GMT 3 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, 3 Feb (TASS)—The assembly of representatives of the Tatar nation, the kurultay, signifies nothing more than the creation of a new form of public organization. This was the political evaluation of the kurultay, which met for two days in Kazan, by Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaimiyev, who addressed today's opening session of the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet.

"Any other perception of the status of this organization is unacceptable and should be strictly evaluated from the position of the law," he said. The president also pointed out that the kurultay must be properly registered by the justice ministries of Russia and Tatarstan.

The Tatarstan People's Assembly, which concluded on 2 February, elected the Milli Majlis (National Congress), which includes 75 deputies. The assembly adopted a law on the status of the Tatar language, declaring it the state language of Tatarstan. Kurultay participants adopted a request to the Islamic Conference Organization to "take Tatarstan to its heart."

In the opinion of politicians, the resolutions adopted by the Milli Majlis (National Congress) have no legal force, since no provision is made for such an organization in the republic's constitution.

The Tatarstan president believes that "all the legislation norms regarding public associations apply to the elected Milli Majlis." Mintimer Shaimiyev told the Supreme Soviet session that the Tatarstan parliament should state its attitude to the kurultay's policy of substituting for or influencing the legally elected parliament.

Says Defense Industry in 'Bad State'

OW0402023692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1843 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaimiyev said at a Monday [3 February] session of the republican Supreme Soviet that the republic's defense industry was in a bad state due to the 80% trimming of state orders and higher prices of materials and components. Production in the defense industry is expected to fall 20% from the same period last year. Attracting foreign capital to convert the defense factories for civilian production is one of the solutions, said the president.

According to him, the republican 1991 budget was equal to 4.5 bn. [billion] rubles and ran a deficit of 350 rubles [as received].

Addressing the state of the consumer market, the president noted that the prices in the republic are currently 3 to 4 times higher than they are in the other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries. Shaimiyev lashed out against the enterprises that charged unjustifiably high prices.

Tatarstan Congress Declares Nuclear-Free Zone

LD0502114192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Contrary to reports by the BBC, a holy war against Russians was not declared during the all-Tatarstan congress. This was reported to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA by its correspondent in Tatarstan. A resolution declaring Tatarstan a nuclear-free zone was also adopted.

All parties and public organizations must reregister by 1 April, and non-Tatar parties, such as the Russian Democratic Party, should be banned. This is due to the fact that Tatarstan is an independent state. The congress has adopted an appeal to the UN secretary general to study the question of accepting Tatarstan as a member.

Kaliningrad Chairman Returns From Moscow Talks

LD0302053892 Kaliningrad MARITIME PRESS SERVICE in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Yu. N. Semenov, chairman of the Kaliningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, has returned from Moscow, where he had meetings with R. I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia; Ye. T. Gaydar, deputy prime minister; G. E. Burbulis, secretary of state; and other leaders of the top organs of power of the republic. The talks dealt in particular with urgent tasks connected with protection of the local budget from ruble intervention on the part of neighboring independent states, the development of agriculture, land improvement, and the commissioning of purification installations. The top Russian leaders expressed understanding of the topics discussed and defined possible ways of tackling the problems which have accumulated in our oblast.

Karelia To Create External Relations Ministry

LD0402041992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 31 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Karelian Supreme Soviet, in seeking greater independence for the republic in foreign policy activity and in extending humanitarian ties with foreign countries and the countries of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], has adopted a decision on creating a Ministry of External Relations. A Supreme Soviet session endorsed the new minister.

[Begin recording of V. Shlyamin, Karelian External Relations Minister] Karelia has always been and I hope will always be a part of the Russian Federation. But, it ties us down too much, and that includes the sphere of external relations. I believe that now, when the significance of the regions of Russia is increasing, we would be able to render great benefit to the whole of our federation. [end recording]

Yakutia Republic To Set Up Foreign Ministry

OW0402174592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1609 GMT 4 Feb 92

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Mayorov, Igor Porshnev, and "others"—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Sakha Republic (Yakutia) will have its own foreign ministry with a staff of 30, Vitaliy Artamonov, who has been appointed the Yakut Foreign Minister, has told our correspondent. Mr. Artamonov said his ministry would first of all have to formulate the basic principles for his republic's foreign relations. In practical terms, the ministry will seek to establish relations with former autonomous republics within Russia, with other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries and with foreign states.

Mr. Artamonov said Yakutia was planning to have its representatives in Russian embassies and consulates in the USA, Great Britain, Austria, Germany, China and Mongolia. The Yakut government had already started negotiations with the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Khakass Supreme Soviet Adopts Name Change

LD0302212192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0345 GMT 3 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Danilenko]

[Text] Abakan, 3 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Republic of Khakassiya—this is how the former Khakass Soviet Socialist

Republic will be called from now on. The decision to rename it was made by the deputies of the newly elected Supreme Soviet at its session. It has also been announced that the republic will remain within the Russian Federation.

Elects Chairman

LD0302213492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0440 GMT 3 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Danilenko]

[Text] Abakan, 3 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The first chairman of the Khakassiya Supreme Soviet was elected today at the Supreme Soviet session. He is Valeriy Shavyrkin, of Russian nationality, the former director of the 'Khakassiya' agricultural combine. The deputy chairmen of the republican Supreme Soviet were also elected. People's deputies cast a majority of votes for the candidates proposed by the leader of the parliament: political scientist Andrey Asochakov and lawyer Nikolay Saybarakov. Both are of indigenous nationality.

Chairman Resigns

LD0402181192 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Danilenko]

[Text] Abakan February 4—Valeriy Shavyrkin, elected head of the Khakassiyan Supreme Soviet 3 days ago [as received], announced his resignation on Tuesday [4 February] after deputies voted against the candidate he proposed for the post of the republican prime minister.

Vladimir Shtygashev will replace him as the new Supreme Soviet leader. Shtygashev earlier worked as a chairman of the republican trade unions council.

St. Petersburg Rally Protests Government Policy

PM0402164392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 92 p 1

[Unattributed report in the "Newsbeat" column]

[Text] St. Petersburg—A protest rally organized by the Russian Liberation Movement and the Russian Party against the Russian Government's economic, national, and cultural policy has been held on Winter Palace Square.

Sakhalin Opposes Offshore Rights Decision

LD0402235892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1051 GMT 3 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 3 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Sakhalin Governor Valentin Fedorov has voiced his opposition to a ruling by a Russian Government commission which has been handling bids for offshore oil and gas extraction rights near Sakhalin.

Speaking today on local radio, Fedorov said the commission was trying "to retain the old ministerial setup" against the interests of Sakhalin's people.

The government commission ruled in favor of the MMM consortium, which is made up of the companies MacDermott International, Mitsui, and Marathon. In conjunction with the Sakhalinmorneftegas [Sakhalin maritime oil and gas] association, they have been awarded the right to exploit two fields containing an estimated 100 million tonnes of oil and 400 billion cubic meters of gas off Sakhalin's eastern coastline. The total value of the project is $10 million. Six high-powered consortiums of oil companies from the United States, Japan, Western Europe, Australia, and South Korea had competed for the rights.

Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar has already signed the state commission's ruling. The MMM consortium, which will probably be joined by Mobil, should conclude the contract by March 31. It is thought here, however, that the Sakhalin offshore controversy is unlikely to die down soon. The local people, with the governor at the fore, could well resist the central authorities.

Ingush Leader Rejects Chechen Protection

PM0502101392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

["Own Information" report under "Trouble Spot" rubric: "Mounting Confrontation"]

[Text] The other day Chechen General Prosecutor Elza Sheripova issued a decree on the instruction of Kh. Akhmadov, chairman of the republic parliament, which again increased the degree of political confrontation in the dispute over Sunzhenskiy, Malgobekskiy, and Nazranovskiy Rayons, which form part of modern Ingushetia and have been declared by Chechnya to be its own territory.

Stating that these rayons are under Chechen jurisdiction, Sheripova declares the order by Russian Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov appointing prosecutors there to be invalid. The same document appoints Chechnya's own prosecutor, Sinbarigov, who previously worked in the Groznyy Rayon Prosecutor's Office, instead of the Russian prosecutor, Belkharoyev.

In the opinion of local observers, the numerous decrees and orders on this disputed territory "are attempts by the Dudayev cabinet to weaken Ingushetia and make it more dependent on Chechnya—the leader of a future mountain republic stretching from 'sea to sea'—which in the future will make the 'recalcitrants' forsake Russian patronage and join a single Vaynakh state."

Ruslan Tatiyev, chairman of Sunzhenskiy Soviet: "The Chechen leaders' transparent intentions are resolutely rejected by the Ingushes. These rayons will remain solely Ingush, despite the provocative actions of the Chechen parliament, which is creating structures of power parallel to the soviets akin to the 'provisional committees for the operational management of the national economy,' comprising people who have never been elected anywhere, have been given no authority for anything, and do not even live in the rayon.

"By decision of the Chechen parliament such a committee has declared 1 February to be election day for the Sunzhenskiy Rayon administration. None of the inhabitants will take part in the elections; it is a pointless venture. The decision of the Chechen parliament to create armed formations in these rayons allegedly to protect the population is heating up the atmosphere still further. Whom is Chechnya so eager to defend the Ingushes from, when on its own territory crime is rife and leaders are quarreling and falling out among themselves? We will protect ourselves and that includes protecting ourselves against those who seek to use every means to separate us from Russia."

'Secret' Sverdlovsk Chemical Dump Revealed

LD0402184592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Correspondent Yuriy Balandin report from Kurgan]

[Text] This marshy, wooded area on the border of Sverdlovsk and Kurgan Oblasts is surrounded by barbed wire and signs saying: Danger zone—keep out. Until recently it was kept a deep secret as far as local residents were concerned.

Journalists helped to uncover the secret of the danger zone. After a number of articles appeared in the press, the Kurgan Oblast ecology committee received an acknowledgement of its existence in a message from Kamyshlov Rayon [committee] of Sverdlovsk Oblast. It turns out that 123 tonnes of extremely toxic chemicals were buried in the woods, three km from the village of Nikolayevka, almost 20 years ago. The dangerous burial site was set up by soldiers from the former Urals Military District. To be fair, it should be noted that local authorities and the public health department were informed about the secret work which was being carried out.

The range was soon forgotten, and the burial site remained unsupervised. The question of the dump had to be reopened recently because of the publicity it had received. Servicemen from a special chemical battalion took readings of the radioactivity and checked steam being given off from the dump to see if it contained poisonous substances.

But they failed to do the most important thing: They did not organize a continuous monitoring of the groundwater. During the spring, when water levels are higher, water from the marsh discharges into small rivers nearby which flow into the Iset River, the main water artery. The local population is not being comprehensively checked for blood disorders, cancer, cirrhosis of the liver, and allergies, even though the general level of illness on a neighboring farm is almost 15 percent higher than in the rest of the district.

That is the secret of this clandestine burial site which was concealed from the local population for almost 20 years.

Udmurt Supreme Soviet Views Chemical Weapons

PM0402120192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jan 92 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report under the "Cable" rubric: "Udmurtia Asks About Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] A further six [as received] items were added to the agenda for the Udmurt Supreme Soviet session. Deputies wanted information on the minimum consumer budget for the republic's population, the situation in agriculture, the social protection of rural inhabitants, the 1992 resource fund, and chemical weapons stored in Kambarka city.

International Affairs

Defense Ministry Spokesman on CIS Policy

OW0402185692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] strategic forces on republican territory will be made up of strategic missile forces and aviation and the supporting services, including space-based and air-defense units, for example, radar posts in the missile attack warning system, said Lieutenant-General Ivan Bazhan, spokesman for the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. The bulk of the air-defense units will be Ukraine's, not CIS'. It is not yet clear who will command air assault troops, military transport aviation and the Black Sea Fleet. General Bazhan said that a special agreement on strategic forces and their status would be in place after 1994 when there will be no nuclear weapons in Ukraine. He expressed assurance that the documents would shortly be made public.

Ukraine believes that only the part of the Black Sea Fleet that is meant to pursue strategic missions should be part of the CIS navy. The remainder should go to Ukraine's navy said Bizhan. Ukraine plans to insist on this plan at the next CIS expert session in Minsk. The general expressed the hope that "an agreed-upon decision on the Black Sea Fleet will be in place by February 14 when the CIS heads of governments meet, but on condition that Russia softens its line."

To Press Stand on Black Sea Fleet

LD0502105292 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 5 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Zaika]

[Text] Kiev February 5 TASS— Ukraine will press with its stand on the Black Sea Fleet at the coming meeting of the Commonealth heads of state, due to begin on February 14, according to General Ivan Bizhan, head of the Ukrainian Defence Ministry group responsible for defining which armed forces on the territory of the republic belong to the strategic armed forces.

"The Ukrainian position on the Black Sea Fleet is clear", Bizhan said and reiterated earlier statements, that only the strategic part of the Fleet should remain with the Commonwealth. "All the rest should belong to Ukraine", he said.

Ukraine will press its position at a meeting of military experts in Minsk and hopes "an agreed decision on the fleet" will be forwarded to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads of state at their meeting on February 14, Bizhan said, but added this may happen only if the "Russian stand does not remain that tough".

CIS military experts had three meetings after the Commonwealth signed an agreement on strategic forces and succeeded in defining the list of the main strategic armed forces on the territory of Ukraine, Bizhan said.

It includes strategic missile units and strategic airforce, as well as their logistics and support systems. Among them are several units belonging to the departments of space armaments and air defence, in particular, the radars making part of an early warning system. The remaining air defence units become Ukrainian, the general said.

Ukraine, which plans to become nuclear-free in 1994, will have to settle the problem of strategic arms on its territory by this time as well. "Experts will finally define all strategic weapons in Ukraine and will then prepare a special agreement on their status", Bizhan said and promised that the draft of the agreement will appear in the near future.

Further on Remarks

LD0502115192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0852 GMT 5 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Zaika - TASS]

[Text] Kiev 5 Feb (TASS)—"Ukraine's position with regard to the Black Sea Fleet is understandable and clear. We consider that taking the fleet as a whole, we should assign to the strategic forces only that part which fulfills the corresponding tasks. All the rest should be transferred to the Ukraine's naval forces." This was stated today in an interview with a UKRINFORM correspondent by Lieutenant-General Ivan Bizhan, heading a group of experts from the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense which is discussing the composition of the strategic forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] on the territory of the republic. We intend to defend this point of view at the next meeting of experts in Minsk, the general pointed out. He expressed a hope that on 14 February the heads of state would be presented with a "coordinated decision on the Black Sea Fleet," on the condition that "the position of Russia will not be such a tough one."

After the signing of an agreement on strategic forces, three meetings of representatives from groups of experts have taken place, the general pointed out. They have managed to agree on a list of basic strategic forces remaining on the territory of the Ukraine. These are strategic missile units and strategic aircraft, and also the systems and sites for their servicing and maintenance. Among them are a few subunits under the head of the Directorate for Space Hardware and Antiaircraft Defense, and in particular radar posts included in the early warning system for missile attacks. The main antiaircraft defense units have been assigned to the Ukraine's armed forces.

Answering the UKRINFORM correspondent's question on what will become of the strategic forces after 1994, when nuclear weapons on the territory of the Ukraine will be entirely eliminated, General Bizhan said: "First of all, groups of experts will assemble a definitive list of those units and subunits stationed in Ukraine which will be included in the make-up of the strategic forces. And then they will prepare a special agreement on these forces and their status." I am sure that these documents will see the light of day in the near future, the expert concluded.

Kravchuk Reviews World Economic Forum Meeting

LD0402203992 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Boris Shabayev and Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Davos February 4 TASS—The world economic forum, an annual meeting of statesmen, political scientists and scholars, is drawing to a close in the Swiss resort city of Davos.

The forum is being attended by the heads of seven Commonwealth member states, including Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

Asked if he thinks that the Ukrainian delegation has succeeded in accomplishing the tasks set before it before leaving for Davos, Kravchuk said:

"To accomplish in fullest measure all tasks within a very brief period of time is something no one can do, but I believe that I did the main thing". According to Kravchuk, mass media in the former Soviet centre are spreading a lot of misinformation about Ukraine. The world public is being misinformed about the armed forces, the foreign debt and the interrelationship between Ukraine and Russia.

"I took advantage of the opportunity offered by the world forum to supply a more accurate information about what is happening in Ukraine and I attained the objective", Kravchuk said.

"At the forum in Davos we met many politicians from different countries and worked towards establishing fuller, I would say, full-blooded bilateral relations. I think the business world is now heeding Ukraine. We told the forum and its participants about the new laws promulgated to protect foreign investments, about our foreign economic activity and principles of state building, our humanitarian problems and our understanding of the minority rights in Ukraine, as well as about our efforts to ensure these rights.

"There is no problem of national minorities, including the Russian-speaking people, in Ukraine. Half the children in the republic attend Russian-speaking schools. Most of the recently appointed officials, including the defence minister, the procurator-general and the commanders of three military districts, are Russians. We are building a civil society and our main principle is citizenship," Kravchuk stressed.

"I have often been asked here if we have any antagonisms with Russia. I replied we had none and could have none. But problems exist and one of the problems is that many Russians, including among the leaders, cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that Ukraine is an independent state. Many are insinuations concerning the Crimea, the borders, the Navy, and some Russian parliamentarians have even called for blocking all channels along which energy resources are supplied to Ukraine", Kravchuk said.

Kravchuk thanked Yeltsin for repeated statements that Russia has no territorial claims to make with respect to Ukraine, and said Ukraine is raising no territorial claims either as it understands the complexity and acuteness of the problem. For the sake of avoiding unpredictable consequences, he said, I am calling upon everybody to show restraint.

Further on Kravchuk's Visit to Germany

LD0402195692 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Bonn February 4 TASS—Problems of disarmament, European security and the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States were given centre stage in the talk between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Bundestag Foreign Affairs Commission members, which was held within the framework of the working luncheon.

Commission Chairman Hans Stercken (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] said he regarded prospects for boosting Ukraine's cooperation with the European Community as very favourable. Already in virtue of its geopolitical position, it can play the role of a connecting link between western and eastern Europe, Stercken stressed.

He expressed satisfaction with the way problems of ethnic minorities, including Germans, Romanians and Hungarians are being solved in Ukraine. According to Stercken, Ukraine can serve as an example for other CSCE member-states in this field.

Kravchuk's meeting with German Finance Minister and Christian Social Union (CSU) Chairman Theodor Waigel concentrated on problems of servicing the debt of the former Soviet Union.

The federal government points to the circumstance that Ukraine has not yet signed a pertinent document on this issue, Waigel told journalists. This fact hinders Ukraine's admission to the International Monetary Fund. For the German Government this means that it cannot take on itself guarantees for extending credits to

it. During the talk, Kravchuk referred to disagreements with other Commonwealth republics, Waigel said.

Ukraine is prepared in principle to pay off its share of the foreign debt, but it thinks totally new financial institutions rather than the non-existent Vneshekonombank were needed for this. Kravchuk proposed that a conference involving the International Monetary Fund, creditor nations and the Commonwealth republics be held to tackle this problem, which would be an acceptable variant in Waigel's view.

"One gets the impression that the Ukrainian leaders understand the need to clarify this problem," he said. "We hope that it will be solved within the next month. The debt of the former USSR should be fairly shouldered by the Commonwealth states and the West cannot influence a share-out of this debt. Germany does not intend to cause any damage to Ukraine, conversely, it seeks to help it within its capabilities," Waigel stressed.

Socialist International Deputy Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel expressed satisfaction with Ukraine's approach to nuclear disarmament problems. In a talk with journalists after the meeting with Kravchuk, he said German Social-Democrats support plans to turn it into a nuclear-free state. Presently, Ukraine does not have either chemical or biological weapons. All nuclear armaments will be withdrawn from the republic in the next few years.

Vogel said he would visit several Commonwealth republics late in February. He intends to have a first-hand-look at current interesting processes in Ukraine be it political and economic reforms or the formation of new political parties.

Kravchuk also received the Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi. The sides emphasised the need to preserve and deepen traditional economic ties between Ukraine and new federal lands. These relations will be in the interests of both citizens of Ukraine and residents of the former German Democratic Republic who are threatened with unemployment.

Ukrainian Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Valeriy Kravchenko, who took part in the meeting, stressed that a joint German-Ukrainian economic commission would pay particular attention to these problems as well as to the development of youth tourism.

In Petersberg, Kravchuk also met Free Democratic Party leader Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer and Social Democratic Party of Germany Deputy Chairman Herta Daubler-Gmelin.

Reportage of Kravchuk's Visit to Germany

WA0402183692

For reportage on the visit by President Leonid Kravchuk to Germany, including reports on his talks with President Richard von Weizsaecker and Chancellor Helmut Kohl, please see the Germany section of the 4 February West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Oil Deal With Iran, Azerbaijan Concluded

PM0402144592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Tsikora: "Without Waiting for Tyumen Oil, the Ukraine Is Buying Iranian"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukraine has concluded with the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan its biggest economic contract in recent years, with a graphically expressed political background.

It is a case of constructing a giant—three-stream—pipeline costing $7 billion. Iranian gas and oil will be delivered along the pipeline via Azerbaijan to Ukraine.

Ukraine links great hopes with Iranian oil and gas. As of today the problem of providing energy sources for its economy is one of the most acute. Dependence on the arrival of Russian oil is keeping Ukraine's politicians and economic leaders in a state of constant tension. Any aggravation in the political sphere immediately affects deliveries. Thus, in the past two months Ukraine's power workers failed to receive 600,000 tonnes of fuel oil. Power units have been stopped at a number of electric power stations and in the evenings, Ukrainian cities are blacked out as they were during the war.

At a news conference, V. Fokin, the head of the republic's government, told journalists these facts. Under the agreement, Russia should deliver 40 million tonnes of crude oil to Ukraine this year. As of today contracts have been concluded for only 6 million tonnes.

This situation has impelled the Ukraine to an intensive search for a way out of the energy crisis. The republic is seeking new partners. Jacques Attali, president of the European Reconstruction and Development Bank, who visited Kiev recently, stated after talks that a group of experts is going to Ukraine to ascertain what specific aid the republic needs in updating its power engineering. By the summer of this year, a superterminal for receiving tankers with Arab oil will be constructed at the port of Odessa.

The signing of a multibillion contract with Iran has been a further development of the Ukraine's policy toward achieving economic independence and of the weakening of its tie to a single supplier of energy products. Iranian gas will reach the republic a early as this year. The volume of supplies will be 3 billion cubic meters. There is also an agreement for oil. This year, the Ukraine's oil refineries will receive 4 million tonnes of crude oil from Iran.

This is only the start for trade and economic cooperation between the Ukraine, Iran, and Azerbaijan. The first section of this powerful gas transportation system between these countries will begin to operate in three years, in 1995. And what is particularly important for the Ukraine is that agreement has been reached with Iran on the construction via Azerbaijan of an oil pipeline

through which the republic will be able to receive 50 million tonnes of oil a year. That is the annual requirement of the republic's entire economy. In exchange, Iran will receive items from the Ukrainian metallurgical, petrochemical, and chemical industries, construction materials, machinery, and machine tools.

The Ukraine's contract with Iran for deliveries of oil and gas will have a European echo. The stable supply of these products for Ukrainian electric power stations will make it possible to take the units of a number of hydroelectric power stations out of mothballs.

Cuban Relations, Economic Impact Viewed

AU0402154392 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 3 (49), Jan 92 p 7

[Commentary by Leonid Samsonenko: "Ukrainian Capital—to Cuba?"]

[Text] While the leaders and envoys of 11 republics of the former "inviolable" Union were "burying" the empire in Alma-Ata, a delegation from Cuba visited Kiev. Cuba is a country that will defend the ideals of socialism to the bitter end. For more than 30 years, these ideals have been artificially nourished by the so-called camp of the socialist commonwealth. As Trade Minister Ricardo Cabrisas has pointed out, as a result of the suspension of supplies from the former Soviet Union and East European countries, "the economy of Cuba has now become virtually paralyzed." In view of this, the republic has elaborated its own program for emerging from the crisis. This program will make it possible to improve the situation in the near future. Cuba is counting in particular upon attracting foreign capital through economic associations and joint ventures. According to Cabrisas, their economic and scientific potential will be directed to more complete utilization of available capacities that are presently idle because of the absence of "Soviet" raw materials. Cuba has the potential for opening new markets, but, as the head of the Cuban delegation stressed, it is interested in maintaining former ties. Indeed, an old friend is closer to one's heart than a new one.

Cuban interests in the Ukraine, presently occupying second place among the republics of the former USSR in bilateral economic ties, are traditional. The Cubans expect supplies of Ukrainian sulfur and metallurgical and chemical industry products. They are planning to create joint ventures for boosting manufacture of medical preparations and medical equipment. Biotechnology and tourism will also be further developed.

Answering the Cuban delegation's question regarding possible avenues of cooperation, Anatoliy Minchenko, Ukrainian state minister and economy minister, emphasized that after the republic has proclaimed its independence, possibilities have opened up for establishing direct ties. This refers, first and foremost, to the supplies of medical preparations, raw sugar, and nickel for the Ukraine's ferrous metallurgy. Being responsible for some of the former Union's foreign debt and having the right to a corresponding part of Union property in Cuba, the Ukraine could invest it in newly created joint enterprises, stressed Minchenko.

The countries signed an accord on trade and cooperation.

Rukh Criticizes Russia's 'Territorial Claims'

PM0502103992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[Sergey Tsikora report: "The Ukraine Introduces Private Ownership of Land. L. Kravchuk Demands Admiral I. Kasatonov's Removal. Prime Minister Asks West to Arbitrate in External Debt Dispute"]

[Excerpt] Kiev—[passage omitted] According to the "Rukh" Grand Assembly [bolshaya rada], the political spectrum of the former USSR still contains forces wishing to revive the communist empire. The Russian Federation has been selected as the base for their activities. It is from there that "unfounded claims to the role as the USSR's sole heir in the economic, military, and geopolitical spheres are made at top level. By assuming jurisdiction over the former USSR's property, Army, and finances, the Russian Federation, in contravention of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Accords, is to all intents and purposes declaring an economic blockade on the Ukraine, presenting it with territorial claims, and trying to transform the former USSR's troops in the Ukraine into occupation forces." The "Ukraine's 'Rukh' appeals to the UN Security Council member powers to postpone any examination of the question on confirming the Russian Federation as a permanent member of the Security Council for six months."

Revival Party Criticizes Russian Parliament

OW0502014392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Democratic Revival Party criticized "the decisions of the Russian parliament as regards the Crimea and chauvinistic desire on part of some of the Russian politicians who seek a review of the existing borders." A resolution on the situation in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] says that Ukraine's secession from the Commonwealth would be premature at this juncture since "the CIS remains a reliable way to dismantle the last remaining imperial structures of the former USSR: The army and the financial system."

Cooperation Accord Signed With Yaroslavl

LD0202034992 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] A unique accord on economic cooperation between the Ukraine and Russia's Yaroslavl Oblast has

been signed in Kiev. The sides undertook to ensure mutual deliveries of products this year. A decision was taken to open a permanent mission of Yaroslavl Oblast in Cherkassy, Ukraine, and a Cherkassy Oblast permanent mission in Yaroslavl.

Chernobyl Discussed With Canadian Experts

LD0502103392 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Ukraine's minister of protection of the population from the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant, Hryhoriy Hotovshchyts, has met with the vice-premier [as heard] of a Canadian agency on nuclear power engineering, Mr. Patrunik and with the representative of business circles of Canada, Mr. Yizbrekt. They discussed the problems of putting the Chernobyl nuclear plant out of exploitation, of turning the destroyed fourth unit into an ecologically safe object and considered other issues connected with the Chernobyl explosion in 1986.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Views Military Policy, Prices

92UM0470A Moscow SOVETSKIY PATRIOT in Russian No 4, Jan 92 p 4

[Article by Colonel G. Chernomorskiy: "President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk: 'Nobody Will Set Us Against Each Other!'"]

[Text] The first question our correspondent put to Leonid Makarovich touched on the defense policy of both the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and each state in particular. After all, at present many rebukes are heard addressed to the Ukraine, which has embarked on creating its own armed forces.

The president observed: "I have become accustomed to these questions and to accusations leveled against me. A strange situation is emerging. On the one hand, Ukraine has been recognized as a sovereign state, while on the other, its right to have its own army and navy is questioned. Please note that we have not taken a single step in this direction without referring to legal foundations.

The Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine which was unanimously adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the republic as early as the summer of the year before last, says: "The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] has the right to its own armed forces." Many other documents adopted by our parliament refer to the same thing. In Minsk and Alma-Ata we informed our CIS allies in quite some detail about the intention to create our own armed forces. We even communicated that we would consider 3 January the day of the establishment of the armed forces of the republic. No objections were raised. At the same time, we acknowledged the feasibility of having common strategic nuclear forces under unified control. As far as everything else is concerned, I will repeat that we have not delegated our sovereign rights to anyone.

It would appear that everything is clear. However, the central press and television set up an unhealthy clamor regarding this issue. Never mind the journalists! The ink was not yet dry on the Minsk accords when a telegram came from the commander in chief of the United CIS Forces, Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov, with instructions to take an oath confirmed by the president of Russia. Yet another telegram came soon to the effect that the president of Russia had conferred the rank of general on a group of our servicemen. How is this regular?

Look at an interview with Minister Poltoranin published in the newspaper TRUD. The correspondent asked a quite specific question: Why have centrifugal forces become so active in Russia recently? The thrust of the response may be reduced to the statement that Kravchuk is supposedly a former party leader, that he knows the theory of Communism well, and that now he has stooped to nationalist positions.

Concerning the nationalist position, I will say straightforwardly that people in our republic are not divided into classes. We do not have indigenous or non-indigenous peoples because Russians and Jews, Poles and Bulgarians, Belorussians and Tatars, and representatives of many other nationalities have lived and worked side by side with Ukrainians for centuries. All are equal before the law; all are citizens of our state. Believe me, in just a short while everybody will be able to ascertain that, at a minimum, the Russians in Ukraine fare no worse than in Russia, and the Poles fare no worse than in Poland. As far as the theory of communism is concerned, I indeed know it; I had this kind of job. However, I also know the theory of chauvinism. I know that in his time Lenin called chauvinists oppressors no matter which disguise they used. This may be rude but it is vivid. Mikhail Poltoranin is not a rank-and-file reader or a private citizen. He is a member of the government...

We put a question to the president regarding his vision of the future of the Black Sea Fleet. What solutions are possible in this matter?

Leonid Makarovich noted: "Ukraine is a maritime power. Its coastline stretches for more than 1,000 kilometers; a quarter of the population of the republic resides in coastal regions. Tell me whether it is not natural for the republic to wish to have its own navy? It is simply necessary for the republic! It is another matter what it is to be. I have stated repeatedly in the press and on republic and central television that our state does not claim the entire Black Sea Fleet. Meanwhile, speaking at the All-Army Officer Assembly on 17 January, Admiral I. Kasatonov rebuked the president of Ukraine for precisely this. To my mind, Igor Vladimirovich confused something...

All my respect for navy men notwithstanding, I will say that no matter how important the future of the Black Sea

Fleet and all fleets combined is for Russia and Ukraine, it is much more important for these states to always live in peace and friendship. If we comply with the agreement, succeed in overcoming our pride, and make mutual concessions without which no compromise is possible, nobody will be able to set us against each other!

Personally I am convinced of that, just as I am convinced that an optimal decision will be made with regard to the Black Sea Fleet furthering the interests of both the Commonwealth of States and the subjects of particular states, primarily sailors, sergeants, warrant officers, officers, and admirals.

In an interview with our correspondent, the president of Ukraine also touched on the issue of price liberalization.

We did not count on this measure being popular, the president said. We knew that the population would suffer serious losses. However, what has happened has gone beyond our worst apprehensions. By now, everybody understands that the command-administrative system failed to prove itself. We have opted for a market economy. Denationalization and privatization must be implemented in order to accomplish a transition to a market economy, and care should be taken of our own monetary system. However, we have not done this yet; to be sure, we introduced multiple-use coupons on 10 January.

Unfortunately what has happened amounts to an undisguised price increase rather than liberalization. We went for it because we could not do otherwise. Please recall the fall of last year when the Government of Russia, without warning anybody, raised procurement prices for agricultural products. A considerable segment of agricultural products immediately migrated from the northern and eastern oblasts of our republic to our neighbors. Meanwhile, a common economic space calls not only for the free movement of goods but also for coordinated actions which make it possible to keep the states which belonged to the former Union safe from any type of economic encroachment.

We accuse the Government of Russia of embarking on a reform too early, Kravchuk said, whereas it accuses us of introducing coupons which essentially have already replaced money in trade and will soon crowd out the ruble in the service sector.

Let us be frank about it. The Russian and Ukrainian Governments are inclined to blame each other for their own shortcomings. However, both have made mistakes. Are failures to make agreed-upon deliveries that rare? Both states suffer, but nobody is to blame. However, the coupons are a special case. The government of Vitold Fokin had no other choice. Judge for yourselves. At present, the average wage in Russia is considerably higher than in Ukraine, and the purchasing power of the population is accordingly higher. However, this is not the only point. A decision was made in our country, incidentally, as well as in other CIS states, to increase wages, retirement pay, and benefits in order to at least somehow cushion the unfavorable phenomena of the initial period of price liberalization. However, it is much easier to make a decision than to carry it out. We simply did not have a sufficient money supply to ensure social protection for the residents of the republic. Eighteen billion rubles [R] were required additionally. As is known, the Ukraine does not have a money printing press. It is available in Russia. We made a proper request. So what? Instead of R18 billion, we were given only R4 billion.

In general all of this is merely routine confusion. I will not interfere in the internal affairs of another state; I will only allow myself to observe that in this case we also suffered along with the Russians. I would like all CIS states to be able to avoid uncoordinated actions in the future.

Military Commanders Interviewed on Reform

LD0502124392 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 5 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondents Nikolay Zayka, Yefim Shvartsman, and Igor Bachun—TASS]

[Text] Kiev February 5 TASS—A military reform in Ukraine should be implemented gradually, stage by stage, proceeding from the requirements of a sovereign state, the new commanders of the Kiev, Odessa and Carpathian Military Districts believe. They expressed this opinion in an interview with UKRINFORM.

Lieutenant General Valentin Boriskin, commander of the Kiev Military District, said: "The creation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces is a natural process, which meets the interests of a sovereign state. The national army is being created on a solid legal foundation. This is why all servicemen, who were previously concerned over their future service, social protection and other problems, may now be confident of the morrow. After Leonid Kravchuk's meeting with officers and men, tension in troops began to subside. People have come to realise that they are all Ukrainian citizens, irrespective of their nationality, and nobody's social rights will be restricted. This follows from the fact that 13,000 out of 17,039 officers of the Military District took an oath of allegiance to Ukraine. Only 651 officers expressed the desire to serve outside Ukraine."

Lieutenant General Vitaliy Radetskiy, commander of the Odessa Military District, said: "In my opinion, the priority task is to implement the economic reform, to consolidate further military discipline and enhance combat preparedness of units of the district. The army should deal with purely military matters. It should not interfere in politics or be somebody's tool in political games and disputes."

Lieutenant General Valeriy Stepanov, commander of the Carpathian Military District, said: "The implementation of the military reform is connected not only with the steady elimination of nuclear weapons, but also with the

changing of character of the army group and a considerable reduction of the personnel. We shall put the army on a professional basis."

Demonstrators Support Fleet Commander

OW0502044192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1917 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A demonstration in support of Igor Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, which took place at the headquarters of the fleet in the city of Sevastopol on February 4 attracted as many as 100 people, mostly members of the organization known as Republican Democratic Crimea. The demonstrators displayed Russian St. Andrew's flags, banners in support of Admiral Kasatonov, protesting the division of the fleet, and its transfer to Ukraine. The demonstrators howled that the Crimea belonged to Russia.

Officer Removed Over Oath Administration

PM0502111992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Feb 92 First Edition p 2

[Vladimir Sheleketov report: "Awaiting a Political Decision"]

[Text] Sevastopol—Ukrainian Radio and the UKRINFORM Agency have reported the arrest of Captain Second Class Yuriy Shalyt, a brigade commander of the Black Sea Fleet. As stated at the fleet press center, this does not accord with the facts and contravenes existing legislation. Officer Shalyt tried to organize the administration of the oath in breach of the established rituals without notifying the higher command. The commander's unauthorized actions caused the personnel in his charge to split along national lines and aggravated the situation in the brigade.

Officer Shalyt has been removed from duty for violation of the order of the higher command and the rules of military subordination, for attempting to cause a rift within the formation and on ships, and for undermining the brigade's combat readiness.

He is presently on secondment to the staff of the Crimea Naval Base pending a decision by the commanding officer.

Commentary on New Militia Law, Impact

AU0402151992 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 3 (49), Jan 92 p 5

[Unattributed commentary: "The Law Has Become Effective"]

[Text] **At the end of December 1991, the Supreme Council of the Ukraine adopted a law on the militia. Our readers are asking how this law helps workers of the organs of internal affairs to enforce the law and to maintain law and order. This is what our correspondent was told at the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs.**

The law provides the legal foundation upon which organs and subdivisions of internal affairs carry out their work. It has taken into account the qualitatively new legal relations that are being established in independent Ukraine. Nineteen legislative acts of parliament and government were adopted to develop these relations. More than 10 acts are presently in the stage of elaboration.

In accordance with the Law on the Militia, measures have been taken to strengthen the material and technological base of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and many social and everyday problems of the personnel have been resolved. For example, the militia has received, from various sources, 2,900 automobiles and other technical means. However, the need for automobile transport has only been satisfied 18 percent, for special property—45 percent, and for expert criminological facilities—51 percent.

The corps of investigators has been increased by 940 positions, and the criminal investigation division has received another 1,500 persons. At the same time, the burden upon the investigators remains great—many of them conduct up to 80 and sometimes 100 or more cases simultaneously, despite the fact that, according to the regulations, there can only be 37 of them per year.

The shortage of personnel can also be felt in other subdivisions. In view of the lack of personnel and facilities, the patrol and point-duty service is only capable of controlling 20 percent of the territory.

In 110 towns with the highest crime rate, a ramified structure of the Interregional Administration for Combating Organized Crime has been created. Special operational investigation subdivisions have been created in oblast administrations of internal affairs and in town administrations and internal affairs departments. In 130 towns, additional patrol and point-duty militia subdivisions have been introduced.

Proceeding from the fact that this year the Ministry of Internal Affairs has become independent, a new structure of the ministry has been elaborated. It includes the services of the criminal investigation militia, public security, preliminary investigation, enforcement of punishment, and others. Services for protecting the economy from criminal attempts and for combating organized crime have also been created. They have taken into account the experience of foreign law-enforcement systems.

National Guard 'Nearly 10,000 Strong'

OW0502014192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian national guard is now nearly 10,000 strong, and all of them have sworn allegiance to Ukraine, said Major General Vladimir Kukharets, commander of the republican National Guards, in an interview with IF [INTERFAX]. He said that the guards are recruited at induction centers of military commissariats. Part of the force will be drafted and the other, recruited on three-year contracts that can be extended. All Ukrainian citizens, irrespective of ethnic origin or faith, are eligible to enlist. A guardsman cannot be a member of a political party or movement during his tour of duty.

Dnestr President Remarks on Forming Army

OW0402164892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing MPs [members of parliament] on Monday [3 February], Igor Smirnov, president of the Dnestr Republic, called for forming its own army for the republic as soon as possible and for issuing a special decree to legitimize the presence of Cossack units from Russia in the Dnestr region.

According to Smirnov, in political terms the situation has sharply changed lately, creating extremely unfavorable conditions for the republic's existence. As a result of the USSR's disintegration and recognition of Moldova's and Ukraine's independence within their present orders by the world community, the Dnestr Republic found itself in a "political vacuum", compelling it to alter the strategy and tactics of its further actions.

Servicemen's Situation, Housing Assessed

AU0402124592 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 3 (49), Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel G. Kuznyetsov, deputy chief of department at the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense, by Oleh Oliynyk, URYADOVYY KURYER correspondent; place and date not given: "State Guarantees to the Army"]

[Text] **An army can only be truly efficient if its rear services are strong. This does not apply solely to the material aspect of the problem, but also to the social and legal status of servicemen in the system of state mechanisms.**

Together with the personnel, weapons, and technology, the Armed Forces of the Ukraine have also inherited from the Soviet Army its chronic problems.

The Supreme Council of the Ukraine recently adopted a package of laws on the military development in our state and on social guarantees for the people in military uniform. The URYADOVYY KURYER correspondent speaks with G. Kuznyetsov, deputy chief of department at the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense, on the extent to which the statements of the laws correspond to our time and on how they are fulfilled by state organs.

[Kuznetsov] In our conversation, I would like to identify three main problems, three sensitive points that have a particularly strong influence upon the army collective.

First of all, there are the relationships among servicemen, and not only among soldiers and sergeants. Unfortunately, it is precisely in the army that the following worldly "wisdom" has taken strong root: He is right who has more stars on his epaulets and not the one who is really right. Military subordination in the service is one thing, but if it concerns one's personal life—this is another matter. Not infrequently, officers have to obey the will of their superiors contrary to their own honor and morals. It is clear that this authoritarian style of relationship had a corrupting effect upon soldiers and sergeants.

At present, in accordance with the Ukrainian law "On Social and Legal Protection for Servicemen and Members of Their Families," the officer has the right to lodge a complaint against the actions of his superiors in the court. This is a substantial step forward on the road toward democratizing the Armed Forces.

Unfortunately, at the stage of preparation of the bill, an item disappeared from it to the effect that servicemen have the right to disobey a criminal order that is at variance with Ukrainian laws. Therefore, the army, for example, may still be used against civilians if somebody so decides.

Second, there is the housing problem. According to my information, one-half of all officers do not have normal living conditions.

[Oliynyk] Let us further specify this point. At a recent meeting with officers and generals, Prime Minister V. Fokin quoted the following figures: At present, 62,000 homeless families of officers and warrant officers and 20,000 homeless families of reservists are recorded in the Ukraine. These figures will become higher as our compatriots are moved to the Ukraine from other regions. The budget allocations for housing construction amount to 1.2 billion rubles in 1992.

[Kuznyetsov] The incredibly inflated personnel of the Armed Forces, where quality has generally been replaced by quantity, has led to the enormous housing shortages. It is impossible to correct the situation without state assistance, and no construction battalions will be able to do anything.

It must become a rule: If the state needs an officer, it must, in particular, provide him with housing. The law says that servicemen are entitled to housing on a priority basis proceeding from regulations established by the Cabinet of Ministers. The same applies to officers that go into the reserve. Therefore, it is necessary to elaborate yet another series of measures in the framework of the

legislation in order to render this law effective and capable of introducing favorable changes into the situation of servicemen.

In accordance with the presidential decree, a Commercial Center has been created at the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. It has been authorized to sell military property and technology that is being released in the course of the reduction or reequipment of the Armed Forces. The capital that is thus earned will be used, in particular, to create house-building capacities, various enterprises, including joint-stock ones, in which officers and warrant officers of the reserve could work.

[Oliynyk] Incidentally, won't this center become a channel through which weapons will be sold to places outside Ukrainian borders?

[Kuznyetsov] I will express my personal opinion. There is a steady demand for weapons and military technology on the world market. As long as there is demand, there will also be supply. The former USSR was the greatest weapons exporter. Russia, likewise, has nothing against sales of weapons, and so why shouldn't the Ukraine try and find its place on the world market. Of course, I exclude nuclear weapons from this. Huge amounts of various weapons and technology have accumulated on the territory of the Ukraine. Storing or dismantling them would be less profitable economically than selling. Of course, it must be done without damaging our own security and taking into account the interests of our allies.

[Oliynyk] We have not said anything yet about the situation of those officers who will soon be going into the reserve and be pensioners of the Ministry of Defense.

[Kuznyetsov] The problem of adapting to civilian life is quite significant for a serviceman, because, not infrequently, he cannot work in accordance with his main profession. As we somberly joke, experienced officers must get jobs with the CC [central boiler-house]. I personally know former high-class pilots—senior officers who, after going into the reserve, were compelled to work precisely as operators in boiler-houses. At the same time, in the United States, there exists a practice according to which an officer who is about to resign makes a reservation for himself in a corresponding firm that will take care of training him for a new profession.

We are just proceeding to this. Owing to the efforts by "Sozidatel"—Union for Social Protection of Servicemen—a program has been elaborated for retraining servicemen. This program has found support at a state level and is being implemented in the form of a course of study of between six and nine months at institutions of higher learning or at professional technical schools, if the officer wants to acquire a worker's profession. Such a course is already functioning at the Kiev National Economy Institute.

[Oliynyk] Well, the third problem that we cannot ignore is financial support of servicemen—their pensions.

[Kuznyetsov] Yes, this is particularly important now, because inflation has simply brought to naught that relatively high level of salary that was expected to compensate for all the hardships and disadvantages of military service that the officer has to deal with. Judge for yourself: A major who has served for 15 years received between 800 and 900 rubles until 1 January 1992. Many of us have to keep whole families with this money, because, not infrequently, the wife cannot get a job; moreover, it is also necessary to pay the rent (until recently, the compensation for this was 80 rubles).

We hope that indexation of incomes will help correct the situation and that the size of pensions will also be revised, especially in the case of those pensions that were assigned earlier.

I will point out that all servicemen, including pensioners who are presently residing in the Ukraine and also those serving in the Black Sea Navy, have been supported by the state budget of the Ukraine since the beginning of the current year. Additional capital has been found in order to maintain the full level of salaries for those officers who are presently not on the payroll in connection with the reduction of the staff or withdrawal of the troops from other countries. Those of them who are not yet entitled to pension and do not have any housing, may remain in service until they get housing, or they may remain on the waiting list if they have found jobs in some other ways.

[Oliynyk] Summing up our conversation, let us recall once again: He who does not want to feed his own army will feed an alien army. Therefore, we hope that the problems of the development of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, their maintenance, and social protection of servicemen will be constantly kept in view by the state organs.

x x x

The Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine has created a Committee for Questions of Social Protection of Servicemen. V.A. Martyrosyan has been appointed chairman of the committee.

CPSU Property Transferred to Crimean Control

LD3101040392 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic has adopted a decree on transferring the property of the Communist Party situated on the territory of Crimea to the state property of the autonomous republic. These are former CPSU buildings [word indistinct] sanatoria, residences, information and cultural centers. In total, property worth over 150 billion rubles is being transferred to the republic's property.

Crimea To Receive Funds for Tatars' Return

LD0302035592 Moscow TASS in Engish 1857 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Kiev January 31 (TASS)—The Council of Ministers of the Crimean Autonomous Republic will be given 400 million roubles of capital investments in prices of 1991 with material resources securing in order to create conditions for the return of Crimean Tatars deported in 1944.

This is one of the measures ensured by the corresponding resolution of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers.

When signing annual agreements and treaties on economic and cultural cooperation with Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, from where the deported Tatars return, share participation of the republics in the allocation of financial and material resources to provide for the return will be established. [sentence as received]

A republican commission on deported Crimean peoples' affairs has been set up to coordinate activities of Ukrainian and Crimean state bodies on life-support of the peoples deported from the Crimea.

Groups Collect Signatures for Crimea Secession

OW0102003092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1613 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Two public organizations of Crimea "January 20 Group" and "Russian Movement of Crimea" announced in Simferopol Friday [31 January] plans to start in February collecting signatures in support of a referendum on the peninsula's secession from Ukraine. Crimea, until 1954 part of the Russian Federation, was transferred to Ukraine by decision of the former Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev.

Cabinet Simplifies Border Crossings

LD0502043692 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has decided to simplify border crossings for citizens who live in border oblasts. Crossing points will be opened on the state border with Romania, Hungary, and the CSFR. Normal conditions are being created at those points for carrying out border and customs control. Access roads are being built.

Rukh Chairman Holds News Conference 27 Jan

LD3101102692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1554 GMT 28 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Chairman of the popular Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] of the Ukraine Ivan Dratch says Vyacheslav Chernovil intends to use Rukh in his campaigning for presidency against his rival Leonid Kravchuk. Speaking on January 27, at a press-conference on the results of the Rukh grand assembly held on January 25-26, Ivan Dratch also said: There are now two points of view concerning the future of the popular Rukh. The first, supported by Larisa Skorik, Dmitro Pavlychko, Mikhailo Goryn, is for retaining Rukh as a political organization uniting all democratic parties. The other is held by Chernovil, who stands for turning it into a separate party.

Opinions differ on the role of the president too. Mikhailo Goryn and his followers supported the president, while Vyacheslav Chernovil and his supporters were against. The grand assembly decided to hold the 3rd congress of the Rukh on February 28-March 1 in Kiev.

'New Ukraine' Group Founded; Assembly Held

AU3001083592 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian No. 9, 22 Jan 92 p 6

[Text] On 8 January a constituent assembly was held in Kiev, at which the "New Ukraine" public association was founded. Among those taking part in the assembly were a number of Ukrainian people's deputies, members of the Cabinet of Ministers and of the leadership of political parties—PDVU [Party of Democratic Revival of the Ukraine], DemPU [Republican Party of the Ukraine], SDPU [Social Democratic Party of the Ukraine], LDPU [expansion unknown], the Ukrainian Confederation of Entrepreneurs, the Ukrainian League of Enterprises Using Foreign Capital, directors of state-owned enterprises, representatives of trade unions, and the press. The assembly elected the presidium and authorized it to publish a statement outlining goals. V. Filenko was elected head of the Secretariat. The association provides for membership on both an individual and collective basis. For that reason, representatives of public organizations will soon consult with their leaders about joining the association. The Union of Ukrainian Cooperators and Entrepreneurs and the Ukrainian League of Enterprises Using Foreign Capital have already announced that they will become members.

An all-Ukrainian congress of the association is planned for Kiev in February.

Excerpt from the Statement Issued by the Presidium of the "New Ukraine" Public Association

A new situation has developed in the Ukraine.

The time has come for us to build and not destroy. It is time to begin the prosaic and difficult daily labor for creation of a new Ukraine, which we see as an independent and democratic European power with a developed civil society, social partnership, and contemporary market economy. This economy must be able to ensure

both a high standard of living for the working people and social guarantees for those who, for objective reasons, cannot work....

We are convinced that the following are the priority tasks:

1. Immediate creation of a free system of trade and supply instead of the state monopoly one.

2. The fastest possible (in 1992) implementation of land reform and the transition of the agro-industrial complex to market relations that will make it possible to provide the people with sufficient food.

3. Removal of all obstacles to free development of enterprises and trade, provision of state support for them, and the creation of a necessary legal foundation. Urgent revision of the excessive taxes hampering production and the fastest possible adoption of decrees and laws on the privatization of property, demonopolization of the economy, and immediate introduction of internally convertible national currency.

4. Introduction of new labor legislation, compatible with the conditions of a market economy and of the system of reliable social guarantees.

We call on all those who support our goals and all those who understand that revival of the economy based on state monopoly would be a mortal danger for the unity of the Ukraine. We call on them to unite in order to see that a package of essential legislative acts is adopted and in order to force the government to dynamically place the economy upon the market rails.

The "New Ukraine," adhering to the positions of independence and pragmatism and rejecting the obsolete schemes and myths, will support positive actions taken by the president, Supreme Council, Cabinet of Ministers, and power structures at all levels. At the same time, the "New Ukraine" will openly and consistently oppose any attempts to create, under the banner of independence, an authoritarian power with a distributive economy.

The "New Ukraine" retains the right to use methods of constructive opposition to an extent that a shadow Cabinet of Ministers may be created....

Peasant Party Holds Inaugural Conference

LD3001105792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] At an inaugural conference in Kherson, delegates from 11 oblasts advocated setting up a new political organization, the Peasant Party of Ukraine [Krestyanskaya Partiya Ukrainy]. It is intended to defend the interests of the republic's rural population. The Peasant Party considers its main principle to be reliance upon diverse forms of economic activity. It does not object to organizing private farms. Most of the speakers at the conference, however, think that privatization of collective and state farm property is impermissible.

Democratic Party Views Economic Reform

LD0102082292 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] The Democratic Party of Ukraine has distributed a document in which it expresses its view on the current economic situation in the Ukraine. The main reasons for the crisis in the Ukrainian national economy are named: the absence of radical progressive changes where property is concerned, and in the taxation, credit, financial and banking systems; the failure to provide economic independence for the Ukraine; and the incapability of the economic policy of the government.

The next session of the Supreme Soviet must adopt laws on denationalization, privatization, and demonopolization of property. Land reform should be prepared and implemented with a view to creating a basis for market relations in agriculture starting this spring.

The Democratic Party believes that the Ukraine remains dependent on Russia in the economic sphere. The main reason for this is the common monetary unit. The rebirth of the Ukrainian economy should begin by introducing a national currency. For the currency to be of full value immediately, monetary reform is inevitable. Price liberalization, carried out before privatizing property and introducing a Ukrainian monetary unit amounts to ordinary administrative price increases. In official terms, it also means robbing the people and lowering their standard of living.

The Democratic Party's positions are as follows: our own money should come first, followed by demonopolization, denationalization, and privatization of property. As a result, free prices will occur.

The title of the document is: An Independent Economy for Independent Ukraine; Property and Freedom of Enterprise for Citizens.

Migration of Non-Ukrainians Noted, Viewed

AU3101135192 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 16 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by Ivan Vyvirka: "Influx of Migrants; the Ukraine is Unable to Provide for All Refugees From the Former Union"]

[Text] Mr. Danylyuk, a resident of Zaporizhzhya, sent us very interesting statistics on the migration of representatives of various nationalities into that region. Thus, between 1979 and 1989, the number of Crimean Tatars there increased by 630 percent, Azeris—by 210 percent, and Maris, Udmurts, Armenians, Uzbeks, Moldovans, Georgians, Bashkirs, Mordovians, and Russians by 83, 58, 54, 53, 48, 44, 43, 21, and 9 percent, respectively. The number of Ukrainians increased by just 5.2 percent.

The majority of Crimean Tatars, who mainly settled in Melitopol rayon, have created there a base for a future resettlement in the Crimea. With regard to other nationalities, the migrants from the Caucasus have literally invaded the Dnieper region. In the Lvov region, there are also large numbers of them. Escaping from their own troubles, they were attracted by the well-being of the Ukrainians and have become practically our dependents: They have occupied hotels and markets and have edged their way into trade structures. How can the people of the Ukraine, exhausted by wars, forced famine, the expropriation of the kulaks, deportations, Chernobyl, and the terrible ecological situation, compete with young nations of Central Asia or the Caucasus that have between five and 10 children in the family?

The migrants buy apartments and private houses in Zaporizhzhya, and it is impossible to compete with them. If privatization starts, in whose hands will shops, large and small enterprises, workshops, barbers's shops, and so on fall? The first attempts in Russia to sell shops at public sales show that representatives of Central Asian and Caucasian republics have become first buyers. The migrants, while maintaining their national languages among themselves (which is commendable), at the same time, consider the Russian language to be an international one. This is how our "Russian-speaking population" grows. All of this may lead to conflicts. Anyway, they have long been in progress in the Stavropol region, in the Kuban region, and in Rostov-on-Don. Just recall the claims of Moscow taxi drivers....

Over recent years, the migration of Caucasians to the Ukraine has been steadily increasing. In many populated areas, they have monopolized the sales of tobacco merchandise. If they do not sell their cigarettes themselves, they hire local residents to do so. At the same time, such an industrial giant as "Dniprospetsstal" [steel plant] spends thousands of rubles advertising vacancies for workers in many specialities. However, the newcomers are in no hurry to get employment at metallurgical or other plants. Their sphere of activity is markets and department stores.

We ourselves are creating favorable conditions for adventurers, idlers, and dealers in dubious businesses, for those people who, in the final analysis, destroy our culture and who, becoming assimilated, do anything they want on our land.

Just go to Georgia or Armenia and try to be admitted to an institution of higher learning there. No matter how much knowledge you have, you will not be admitted there because you do not know their national languages. At the same time, we "exemplarily" have the Russian-language teaching at our institutions of higher learning: Lest our "dear" guests should be offended!

The Ukraine is one of those republics where there is no interethnic strife. May God spare us from this misfortune. However, if the migration continues to be spontaneous and uncontrolled, we are in for great troubles. I personally do not want to work for anyone in my own independent state. It might be a good idea to make use of the experience of the Stavropol and Kuban regions where Caucasians and Meskhetian Turks are not getting residence permits.

However, even having to register your place of residence does not help: The Ossetians, who crave so much for independence, have already occupied the Kuriles. For large sums of money, they become "indigenous" residents there right away, and this enables them to freely visit neighboring Japan. Then they emerge in the Ukraine—the land of plenty—driving their "Toyotas" and looking down upon our villagers, those who take their vegetables, milk, and meat to the market and wait, in vain, for dozens of years hoping to buy a "Zaporozhetz" automobile.

In the past, too, the Ukraine suffered from the influx of Polish and Russian migrants. Now we have yet another round. There also are countless hordes of beggars streaming in from Moldova!

Owing to the acute shortages of alcoholic beverages, the detoxification clinics do not seem to be working at their full capacity. Their premises could be used as reservations for the unwelcome newcomers. After they receive some nourishment, they could be sent, under supervision, to clean our neglected streets. This may continue for several days. We should no longer tolerate parasites in our home.

Magazine About Chernobyl Efforts Published

LD0502114392 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Adam Yanushevsky]

[Text] Zhitomir February 4 (TASS)—A local publishing office printed the first issue of the HOSTAGES OF CHERNOBYL magazine, published both in English and Russian. The purpose of the new periodical is to draw wide attention of international charity funds to the ongoing clean-up of the Chernobyl accident.

The first issue runs a story about the newborn Zhitomir charity fund for people being evacuated from the regions polluted by nuclides. Significant amounts of money have already been donated by Japanese, Czechoslovak and Polish funds. Another source of hard currency would be revenues from the magazine's sales abroad.

Kharkov Plants Idle Due to Supply Problems

PM0502094192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 29 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Report by V. Pidchenko and A. Dovgal, from Kharkov]

[Text] [Pidchenko] As a result of shortfalls in deliveries, primarily deliveries of rolled metal, production units at

one in three Kharkov enterprises are at a standstill, including such major enterprises as the Serp i Molot plant and the turbine and tractor plants. The entire collective of the Ukrelektromash Association has been sent on involuntary vacation.

According to the forecasts of an emergency meeting of enterprise directors which has been held here, dozens of Kharkov's major industrial plants may grind to a halt as early as this February. This is because contracts covering only 15 percent of their requirement for components and materials have been concluded this year.

[V.M. Baybikov, first deputy chairman of Kharkov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee] And that means that the countries of the Commonwealth will not receive the goods they need right now to restore their national economies. The second aspect of this problem which worries us very much is that as early as February we may have to face a situation where hundreds of thousands of workers are out of work. This simply must not be allowed to happen.

Donbass Mining Plant To Halt Production

PM0502093392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from RIA-TASS "News" roundup: "Everyone Sent On Leave!"]

[Text] The Yasinovatskiy mining equipment plant, the largest of its kind in the Donbass, is about to halt its numerous production lines. The coal industry of the entire Soviet Union will thus be deprived of supplies of highly productive tunneling machines. The last ones produced, which were dispatched to the "Ukrzapugol" Association, were half assembled from used units. The completely destroyed economic ties have brought disaster. In general Donbass industry is experiencing all the "delights" of economic chaos. Mines are stopping, construction projects are being frozen, and the coking batteries and blast furnaces of metallurgical enterprises are barely warm. In many enterprises hundreds of workers have had to be sent on "regular" leave. This solution is, in the opinion of all leaders, merely a stopgap.

Belarus

Democratic Forces Form 'Novaya Belarus' Group

Push for Referendum

LD0402165992 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk February 4 TASS—There will be a new parliament and a new government in the Republic of Belarus by autumn this year, the Belarussian People's Front Leader Zenon Poznyak said today. He spoke at a news conference at which representatives of several parties, movements and organisations, who united in a grouping of democratic forces called "Novaya Belarus" on February 2, announced the intention to hold a referendum on the dissolution of the present Supreme Soviet. The main argument in favour of a referendum is that the parliament was elected at the time of unitary Communist Party rule in Belarus. Therefore, there are many former party functionaries among the deputies who are curbing the progressive initiatives.

According to participants of the news conference, the Republic of Belarus needs a Supreme Soviet consisting of 100 deputies instead of the 360 it has now. Elections should be conducted on a multi-party basis. Leaders of "Novaya Belarus" believe the country needs a modern mechanism with the obligatory division of the legislative and executive powers.

The existing laws require that to hold a referendum, it is necessary to collect no less than 350,000 signatures of electors in support of a referendum. Political scientists consider it quite possible. Chairman of the organisational committee on holding a referendum Vladimir Antsulevich said "the preparation for a referendum is in full swing". The financing for a referendum comes in the form of voluntary donations from citizens and organisations.

Aim To Become 'Consolidating Link'

LD0402103192 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 3 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondent Valentina Menshova for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Minsk February 3 [dateline as received]—The "Novaya Belarus" democratic force was founded at a forum in Minsk on February 2. The conference was attended by envoys from 18 parties, voluntary organisations and political movements of the republic.

Only urgent economic reforms can ensure real independence, social protection and property rights for the people of the republic democrats said. The new democratic force aims to become the main consolidating link in society, the founders emphasised. The movement's coordinating council was instructed to work out alternatives to the government social programs. A group of experts will assess bills, submitted to the republican parliament and, if needed, provide versions.

The forum also supported the idea to hold a referendum to decide on presidency in the republic. The forum's statement on the situation in Karabakh welcomed the proposal to deploy a U.N. peace-keeping force in territories, hit by the conflict.

Government 'Has No Intention of Resigning'

LD0402182892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1706 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondent Ivan Kuksa—TASS]

[Text] Ivanovo (Brest Oblast), 4 Feb (TASS)—Despite opposition demands, the government of Belarus has no intention of resigning, Vyacheslav Kebich, head of the cabinet, declared today at a meeting with constituents in Brest Oblast. Until the trust of the majority of the people is exhausted, he stressed, the Republic's president leadership will do everything possible to achieve a normal, civilized path of development.

Foreign Agents Said To Be Increasing Activity

OW0402165092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to sources close to the Belarussian KGB, the number of foreign agents operating in that republic has increased several times lately.

The Belarussian KGB stated that previously, too, the number of foreign agents working in Belarus was greater than in other former Soviet republics which is due to the presence of too many secret projects, arms and space-research enterprises, closed scientific centers and strategic facilities.

As a consequences of the former Union KGB's reorganization, the Belarussian KGB finds it increasingly difficult to deal with the problem. The Belarussian security committee, like the rest of the national security bodies which have lost touch with each other, has been denied access to the central data bank which has been usurped by the Russian intelligence services.

According to a source in the Belarussian KGB, there is information suggesting that the former Union republics have started spying against each other. The possibility of setting up a coordinating council of the Commonwealth intelligence services will be discussed during the Commonwealth summit which is scheduled for February 14 which will be held in Minsk.

Moldova

Snegur Comments on CIS, Reunification

AU0302194292 Vienna PROFIL in German 3 Feb 92 pp 46-47

[Interview with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur by Gregor Mayer in Kishinev; date not given: "The Soviets Must Pull Out"]

[Text] [Mayer] Mr. President, how long will the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) last?

[Snegur] Definitely into the near future. After all, there are not only forces drifting apart, but also forces keeping the Commonwealth together. Every republic would consider leaving if it were admitted into integrated economic structures in the West. But we have the common problem of the Armed Forces. Much will depend on the results of the meeting of the CIS presidents in Minsk in February.

[Mayer] You said that Moldova would set up separate armed forces.

[Snegur] Yes, we, too, want to rely on our own army in the future. We will then declare the large and efficient Soviet units an occupation army and will demand that they be withdrawn step by step. We are planning to become a demilitarized zone in the long run.

[Mayer] Are you prepared to give up the Transdnestr?

[Snegur] If I were, I could not be president of this republic. I think we will find a political solution to the problem. A solution would have been found, if the leaders of this so-called republic had not been advised and influenced from outside. Several Greater Russian party leaders are almost permanent visitors there.

[Mayer] Do you insist on your claim to northern Bukovina and southern Bessarabia?

[Snegur] Taking reality into account, we signed agreements within the framework of the CIS that define the existing borders of the republics. History will decide on the rest. At the same time, we are doing everything in our power to help the Romanian-Moldovan people who live in this region preserve their language and culture.

[Mayer] What do you think about reunification with Romania?

[Snegur] I have warned those who support the idea of reunification against starting processes without first asking the people what they want.

[Mayer] What do the people want?

[Snegur] The people are worried about the reunification activities.

[Mayer] Don't you believe that reunification is feasible?

[Snegur] It would not be correct to say that Moldova and Romania have nothing in common. History shows that we have everything in common. Nonetheless, we must not overlook the fact that the ideology and mentality in this country have been totally different in the last 50 years. I think it is wrong to accelerate the process of reunification artificially.

Snegur Satisfied With Economic Forum Results

OW0402120592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1058 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's President Mircea Snegur has said he is satisfied with the results of the World Economic Forum held in Davos, Switzerland. He hopes, he told newsmen in Kishinev upon his return on Monday [3 February], that European investors will respond favorably to his call for cooperation with the Republic of Moldova where "there are legal preconditions for this".

Ministry Issues Statement on Dnestr 'Terror'

LD0302140992 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Statement by the Moldova Ministry of Internal Affairs in Kishinev on 3 February—read by announcer]

[Text] Political adventurists of the Dnestr Republic, pursuing tactics involving blackmail and terror, are continuing to perpetrate atrocities and unlawful acts and to whip up the sociopolitical situation in the region. Sensing that the end of their careers as separatists is nigh and fearing being made to face responsibility for what they have done they become particularly zealous when the the president of the Republic of Moldova leaves the republic. The separatists have just one aim: to provoke disturbances, armed conflict, and bloodshed and thus to compromise the domestic and foreign policy of the leadership of our republic and discredit Moldova before the world community.

The blood that was shed in November and December last year has not brought the fathers of separatism to their senses. Their stooges in armed bandit groups belonging to the so-called Dnestr Guard are continuing to carry out atrocities, terrorize the population, and flout elementary human rights.

We have already reported that on the night of 31 January seven policemen were attacked, beaten up, and abused for no reason by Cossacks and armed separatist gangs in the town of Bendery. Continuing their criminal activities on the night of 1 February this year the bandits carried out another bloody crime. The latest victim of Smirnov and his gang was Fedor Vladimirovich Surkhan, chairman of the Progress collective farm in (?Toshilovo) village in Ananyevskiy rayon in the Ukraine. On the way back from Kishinev with his son, a soldier, and his wife in his own car he was stopped near a traffic police

checkpoint at Lunga village in Dubossary rayon where there were about seven criminals from the so-called Smirnov Guard armed with submachine guns. Despite the fact that Surkhan stopped immediately when they ordered him to so, without any reason one of the guardsmen aimed his submachine gun at him and opened fire. Surkhan died from serious wounds. A criminal investigation has been started into the incident.

This latest bloody crime shows the true face of separatism in its true colors and reveals it to be indistinguishable from the most unbridled fascism.

Thus, casting aside the law and crudely flouting elementary civil rights, having siezed power by force in the Dnestr Republic the separatist leaders have elevated terror and violence to become their policy. And it is by using these methods that they are trying to preserve the communist regime, the [word indistinct] of their essential inhumanity, a regime that has been condemned by history and the world community in this corner of the earth.

Conflict Continues

LD0302183192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Text] The conciliation commission for a settlement to the conflict between Moldova, the Dnestr Republic, and Gagauzia was at work today at the Moldovan Supreme Soviet. We have just received a telegram from ITAR-TASS. The conflict between the Moldovan police and armed formations from the unrecognized Dnestr Republic continues in Dubossary. As the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs reports, on Sunday, 2 February, Dnestr guards held and then fired at a local police car as it left town. One member of the Moldovan police was injured. The report stresses that the shooting began after the police tried to get away from the armed guards who were trying to take their car.

IMF Experts Opine on Move to Market Economy

LD0502095992 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Yesterday, Valeriu Muravschi, Prime Minister of Moldova, received a group of experts from the IMF who had spent 10 days studying the economic situation in the republic with a view to it joining that international organization, MOLDOVAPRESS reports.

Donald Donovan, the leader of the group of experts, noted in particular that the process of Moldova's transition to a market economy will be long and difficult. The state should play an important role in this period. The government is called upon to take urgent measures in the sphere of pricing, privatization, and demonopolization and to work out a special program of action.

Donovan said that the IMF experts group had outlined a plan of measures aimed at forming a balanced budget.

The IMF representatives made a number of remarks on the law on indexing the population's monetary incomes and also put forward specific proposals for guaranteeing the normal circulation of the future national currency.

Valeriu Muravschi stressed that the assistance of various international organizations, in particular, the IMF, is extremely important for our republic which is in the process of building a society with normal market relations. In this connection, he affirmed the government's intention to pursue firmly the policy of radical economic reforms.

Muravschi, Romanian Envoys Discuss Relations

AU3101130792 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Report by Bucharest Radio correspondent Gabriel Ionescu from Kishinev on 31 January—recorded]

[Text] This morning the two Romanian diplomats, Ion Bistreanu, charge d'affaires ad interim of Romania to Chisinau [Kishinev], and Aurelian Cretu, head of the Consular Section of the Romanian Embassy in Chisinau, held a meeting with the prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Valeriu Muravschi.

Mr. Ion Bistreanu informed the Moldovan prime minister that the Romanian Embassy started operations 10 days ago and described the major problems to be solved in the near future. He mentioned the fact that certain issues in connection with the border crossing on the River Prut should be solved. Likewise, the list of goods to be exchanged between the two countries will be established. It is necessary, Mr. Bistreanu said, to start harmonizing our relations in all areas such as the economy, culture, science, and education.

In turn, Mr. Valeriu Muravschi said he highly valued the Romanian-Moldovan intergovernmental accord signed last year and the meetings that he held with the Romanian prime minister, Mr. Theodor Stolojan. The bases [words indistinct] and new ways to improve these relations should be sought, Mr. Muravschi mentioned, adding that the two countries share the same position on most issues. We are ready to create favorable conditions for the development of fruitful relations in all areas, said the Moldovan prime minister in conclusion.

As we have learned, the Romanian diplomats will soon have a number of meetings with Moldovan ministers in order to examine possible ways and means of cooperation with our country.

Diplomatic Ties Established With 3 Countries

LD3001163392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Republic of Moldova established diplomatic relations with three countries today. At the permanent mission of the republic in Moscow, First Deputy Prime Minister Ion Chebuk and Wang Jingqing, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China, signed the document on relations.

Moldova has also established diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Mongolian People's Republic.

Kazakhstan

German Minister on Russian, Kazakh Relations

LD0402135992 Hamburg DPA in German
1127 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Excerpts] Alma-Ata/Moscow (DPA/VWD)—A big obstacle to German exports to Russia has fallen: the Russian Government is once again to give guarantees for the payment of goods, as the Soviet Union did formerly and under the same procedures. This was reported by FRG Economic Affairs Minister Juergen Moellemann to the press in Alma-Ata on 4 February concerning his talks the previous evening in Moscow.

This creates an important precondition for the FRG Government to give Hermes [export credit] guarantees for exports to Russia by Western and, above all, Eastern German enterprises and to be able to increase the guarantee limits in the course of the year from the present five billion [Deutsche marks], Moellemann said.

The guarantee statements for the payment of German goods are to be examined and dealt with, as up to the end of 1991, by the foreign trade bank (Vneshekonom Bank)—which Russia took over from the Soviet Union—and not by the still too-inexperienced Russian foreign trade bank (Vneshtorg Bank), which was founded only 11 months ago. The reaction of the German side to this was surprise and relief; however, it contradicted decisions made by the Yeltsin government in mid-January, said Moellemann. [passage omitted]

Also in similar talks with the government of Kazakhstan, progress had been achieved, Moellemann said. The Kazakh Government will shortly answer a list of German questions on the banking system. On 5 February, Moellemann is to meet the president of the territorially second-largest Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] republic, Nursultan Nazarbayev, and propose the founding of an economic cooperation council, as already exists with Russia.

On the problem of Russian gas supplies to Germany, Moellemann said that the talks had not yet developed in such a way that one could speak of a breakthrough. "There is still work to be done," said the minister.

The last stop of the CIS trip by the minister is Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, on 6 February.

Telecommunications Accord Signed With Germany

LD0502092792 Berlin ADN in German
0739 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Alma-Ata (ADN)—Germany and Kazakhstan agreed to cooperate on two large-scale telecommunications projects on 5 February. A protocol to this effect was signed by Economic Affairs Minister Juergen Moellemann and Kazakhstan's Deputy Prime Minister Kalyk Abdullayev in Alma-Ata. Under the terms of the protocol, the Bundespost Telekom, the ATN-Bosch-Telekom, and Deutsche Aerospace will develop with Kazakhstan a three-satellite system for carrying telephone links, television programs, and data. Russia and the Ukraine also want to be involved in the project, named "Romantis." There are also plans to create 3 million exclusive exchange lines [hauptanschluesse]. The cost of the project is estimated to be 7.5 billion Deutsche marks, with the three republics investing up to 50 percent. A further joint project, in which mainly Siemens will be involved, relates to the installation of digital transmission technology. [passage omitted]

Details on Semipalatinsk Test Range Disclosed

LD0402154892 Moscow TASS in English
1303 GMT 4 Feb 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Konstantin Borodinov]

[Text] Alma-Ata February 4 TASS—For the first time in the history of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test range in Kazakhstan, military men have disclosed material concerning tests and the radiation load to which the population and the environment have been exposed.

Professor Aytkhozha Bigaliyev, head of the ecology department at Kazakhatan's State University, writes in today's issue of the youth newspaper EXPRESS that the no longer classified materials make it possible to get a clear idea about the consequences of nuclear tests and make a radium-ecological map of areas surrounding the test range.

Bigaliyev worked in the State Commission set up by the Kazakh Cabinet of Ministers.

In his view, test range employees are prepared to cooperate with scientists from Kazakhstan and Russia. They intend to supply to the latter a laboratory and equipment. Bigaliyev emphasised everything should be done to prevent specialists at this nuclear centre from leaving Kazakhstan.

Use of Baykonyr Cosmodrome, Tests Noted

LD0302110392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English
2125 GMT 31 Jan 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] A draft agreement between the commanders of the united Armed Forces of the CIS and the State Defense Committee of the republic on utilizing the cosmodrome Baykonyr is likely to be worked out before February 10.

Members of the Republican Governmental Commission also told PF [POSTFACTUM] that a system of operative warning of the Republican State Defense Committee about the tests to be carried out in Baykonyr had been already devised and approved. The Government of Kazakhstan will be given a two-days' notice of the tests.

Baykonyr Future Said 'Highly Uncertain'

PM0302133392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Jan 92

["Itogi" report by A. Gerasimov]

[Text] [Gerasimov] The formal pretext for returning to a question which you might have thought was settled, namely the joint operation of the Baykonyr cosmodrome by the former Union republics, is a recent article in IZVESTIYA.

The experimental launch from this silo on the cosmodrome's territory of an SS-19 missile long since removed from combat duty was presented as a political scandal, but, incidentally, no scandal took place. It did not take place, but it rocked a lot of seats. A scapegoat in the shape of the selfsame IZVESTIYA was soon found.

[Major General V. Durnev] There was no incident as such, no incident at such a high level. I believe that, putting it mildly, it was simply an attempt to provoke a clash between the military and the Kazakhstan administration. It was an attempt to exploit feelings along the lines of: We are an independent state, we must be notified, informed, and so on and so forth.... Mercifully, Nursultan Nazarbayev understands perfectly what this test site represents and what its tasks and aims are. It was no surprise to him that planned work goes on.

[Gerasimov] Aware of what is going on at the cosmodrome, the Kazakhstan president advised that people should not overdramatize every single experimental space launch incident. This would appear to have been the end of the story.

However, on 22 January a conference was held in Alma-Ata at which Kazakh Deputy Prime Minister Babakhanov declared that the problem of the utilization of the Baykonyr cosmodrome should be resolved once and for all. A commission is being set up to carry out a review, no less, of the cosmodrome's activities and define principles for its future use.

It is not for us to judge to what extent the actions of the deputy prime minister and the president have been coordinated. But it has been perfectly obvious for a long time that no country of the Commonwealth, and that includes Kazakhstan, can maintain Baykonyr single-handedly. It costs more than 1 billion rubles annually, at last year's prices, just to keep it afloat. Essentially, claims to all-Union installations on the scale of the cosmodrome by the owners of the territories on which they are located are entirely meaningless. This is because many organizations in different parts of the territory of the former USSR are involved in the launch of a satellite, for example. The withdrawal of the cooperation of just one enterprise would result in the disintegration of the whole system. The leaders of the Commonwealth have agreed that space research should be continued. An agreement on joint work in this sphere and on the joint strategic deterrent forces has been signed. In this context Kazakhstan's action looks very strange after it has pledged not to take any steps to hamper the normal functioning of installations in the space infrastructure, which serves both science and joint defense.

[Gerasimov, to camera, in front of monument bearing inscription: "Baykonyr has been created for a long time to come, forever. M.S. Gorbachev."] Five years ago neither the author of these lines, who was visiting Leninsk city, nor the cosmodrome residents would have dreamed that the inscription on this obelisk could ever be questioned. Today, Baykonyr's future is highly uncertain. Unquestionably, everything, be it Baykonyr or the Black Sea Fleet, can be shared out, and even shared out equitably. But the result of such a carveup will, in defiance of the laws of mathematics, always be zero.

Aleksandr Gerasimov reporting for the "Itogi" newscast from the Baykonyr cosmodrome.

Republic To Grant U.S. Most-Favored Status

OW0302195692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1843 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The opening of a U.S. embassy in Alma-Ata will add to the U.S. business circles' "determination" to invest in the Kazakh economy, said republican vice-president Erik Asanbayev. He said at the Monday [3 February] embassy inauguration ceremony that Kazakhstan had already prepared required documents to give the U.S. a most-favored nation status. U.S. charge d'affaires MacDonald said in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] that U.S. President Bush has not yet named the U.S. ambassador to Kazakkhstan.

Alma-Ata, Havana Conclude Oil-for-Sugar Deal

LD0302083292 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT 3 Feb 92

[By KAZTAG correspondnet Vladimir Ganzha]

[Text] Alma-Ata February 3 ITAR-TASS—Kazakhstan will deliver a large consignment of petroleum to Cuba in exchange for 200,000 tonnes of raw sugar. This is provided for by a trade agreement concluded by the two states.

And still, the deal will not offset the shortage of sugar in Kazakhstan because requirements for it amount to more than 600,000 tonnes a year.

President Nazarbayev Invited To Visit India

OW3101121892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] India's Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has invited President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan to come to India for an official visit at a time convenient to him. This invitation was made through the prime minister's envoy to Alma-Ata R.N. Mirdha who came to Kazakhstan to discuss issues connected with bilateral cooperation. India has announced its intention to establish diplomatic relations with Kazakhstan.

Prime Minister Tours Western Region

LD3101140792 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0000 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] Prime Minister Sergey Tereshenko had a packed agenda for his visit to western Kazakhstan. There was a conference in Aktau of heads of executive bodies, soviets, enterprises in the oil and oil-related industries, and scientific and design institutes. There was constructive discussion of the need to maintain the level of oil extraction, to build a refinery on Mangyshlak peninsula, to issue licenses for the export of crude oil, and for social protection guarantees for workers under market conditions.

Tereshchenko also visited Novyy Uzen. The government leader visited the Caspian mining and metallurgical combine, a plastics factory, Mangyshlakneft production association's oil fields, and several enterprises.

Announces Plans for 'Sea Fleet'

OW3001140092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan plans to set up its own sea fleet in the Caspian Sea to enter the world oil market. This was announced during a tour of West Kazakhstan by the Prime-Minister of the republic Sergey Tereshenko. He also said that a free economic zone will be set up and a complex of oil-refineries will be built in the oil-rich Mangystau region.

He favored the speedy conversion of the munitions plants Metallist and Zenit in the west of the republic for the production of civilian goods.

Chechen Congress Views Interethnic Conflicts

LD0302234692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2135 GMT 1 Feb 92

["Inter-Ethnic Relations in Kazakhstan; from the "Politics" section]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Delegates of the Extraordinary Conference of the Chechens demand to set up a commission for consideration of inter-ethnic conflicts in Kazakhstan.

The conference was held on February 1 in Alma-Ata. While discussing the issue of aggravation of inter-ethnic relations, the conference discussed the deportation of 17 Chechen families from Taldy-Kurgan region beyond Kazakhstan about a month ago. According to unconfirmed data, they were put in a railway carriage that went to the city of Grozny after a stay in Alma-Ata for 3 days.

Speaking at the conference, writer Olzhas Suleymenov proposed to set up an inter-ethnic council of elders.

Tajikistan

Foreign Minister on Fundamentalism, Turkey

TA0502071492 Ankara ANATOLIA in Turkish 1610 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Brussels (AA)—Selin Caglayan reports: The relations Turkey is establishing with the Turkic republics that were formerly part of the USSR are being criticized by certain circles from the former Soviet Union.

This was stated by Tajikistan's Foreign Minister Lakim Kayumov in an exclusive statement to ANATOLIA. Kayumov pointed out that it is very natural for the Turkic republics to speed up their own development by making use of Turkey's experience. "You can count Tajikistan among the Turkic republics," he said, adding: "Certain circles, however, that are remnants of the Soviet Union era do not consider this natural. They react to this development, because they are not accustomed to these people having equal rights or establishing relations with neighbors with whom they have a common language, culture, traditions, and lifestyle."

Kayumov pointed out that the danger of Islamic fundamentalism exists in the region and in his country and that they cannot remain silent in the face of that phenomenon. He added: "It is our duty to take action to prevent that movement; we must take the initiative."

The Tajik foreign minister pointed out that they were deprived of their religious rights for 70 years but now have the right to fulfill their religious duties. "However," he added, "rights are not only for the religious. Others have rights as well, such as the right to dress and act as they please. They must be able to wear ties and dress like Europeans if they want."

The minister stressed that if those rights are restricted, then there will be regression. "If that is done," he said, "then my rights will have been curtailed."

Kayumov said that the restrictions advocated by the Islamic fundamentalists concern especially the women. "The women in my country cannot lead the kind of life they want to lead," he said.

Kayumov stated that the promoters of fundamentalism are very young and active. "They believe in the slogan of neither the East nor the West. I am convinced, however, that the common sense of the people in the region will prevent the strengthening of that movement," he added.

The Tajik foreign minister said that politicians have great responsibility for the training of youth. He added:

"Our youths must become familiar with Turkey's experience. Therefore, we want to establish good relations with Turkey. We want to exchange students; we want our peoples to work on joint projects."

The minister stressed that Tajikistan's membership in the CSCE would help avert the fundamentalist threat, "because with the CSCE process we will be able to establish relations with Europe and Asia and be able to set up democratic institutions in our country."

Kayumov said that the membership of the Turkic republics, and even of Afghanistan, in the Economic Cooperation Organization set up by Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan would be extremely positive in that an economic community like the EC would be established. With such a community, he said, peace can be established in the region, and there could be cooperation on matters of the economy and communication and an exchange of experts. He added: "If we establish economic ties, peace will become stronger. Our people will not be isolated as they were for 74 years. We are a people with a very rich history, who have made great contributions to world civilization. Now, we must get closer to each other without using ideological glasses—without discriminating against religion, language, or nation."

Foreign Ministry Denies Uranium Sold Abroad

LD0302031392 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1800 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Statement by the Tajik Foreign Affairs Ministry]

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Ministry of Tajikistan, in connection with recent reports and articles in the media alleging that Tajikistan is selling or intends to sell uranium to foreign countries, is authorized to state the following:

The aim of these malicious efforts by a number of [word indistinct] mass media, which (?have published) the news on sale of uranium by Tajikistan to foreign countries, is to undermine the foreign policy principles of (?our) newly established and independent state and to serve the interests of specific circles. By publishing such false reports, they aim to strike at the international prestige and credibility of Tajikistan, particularly at a time when its application to join a number of international organizations was to be considered.

An appeal by the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet of 14 January 1992, addressed to the countries of the world, states that our state reaffirms its international commitments and obligations [word indistinct] agreements and treaties signed by the former USSR, including its commitments to nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and [word indistinct] arms, international security and [word indistinct] situation in the region. [passage indistinct]

The Tajikistan Foreign Affairs Ministry is authorized to state that Tajikistan understands the responsibilities of (?implementing) an independent foreign policy. Strengthening and improving the international situation is in its interests [words indistinct] resolutely rejects the sale of uranium by the republic and once again reaffirms its sincerity and commitment to the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and its [word indistinct].

Military Chief Denies Afghan Weapons Shipment

LD0302104892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2125 GMT 31 Jan 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] The Commander of the Tajikistan National Guard Bakhram Rakhmanov denied the allegations that the republic ships weapons to Afghanistan. The Iranian newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI of January 27 carried a statement of one of the leaders of the Afghanistan Islamic Revolution Movement Nasrullo Mansur. Major General Bakhram Rakhmanov, a state adviser to the president of Tajikistan on defense, national security and the bodies of law and order told PF [POSTFACTUM] that Tajikistan was not manufacturing weapons or granting the republican territory for its shipping. He said: In the current critical situation Tajikistan has nothing to offer for trade.

According to the major general, the republic was prepared to dispose of a rocket battalion armed with 4 medium-range missile installations capable of carrying nuclear war-heads. There are no nuclear war-heads in Tajikistan, and we are going to scrap the carriers, said Rakhmanov. He also promised that under no circumstances would the National Guard turn against the civilian population of the republic, however tense the internal situation might be.

Defense Official Denies Arms Supplies

LD0202045392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Farrukh Niyazov, defense committee chairman of Tajikistan, has rejected rumors that Tajikistan is supplying arms to Afghanistan. He pointed out that as long ago as the Moscow meeting with the mujahidin, the official representatives of Tajikistan declared that the Central Asian republic will not be supplying arms to Afghanistan.

Nabiyev Urges Entrepreneurship to Businessmen

LD0302015292 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1800 GMt 28 Jan 92

[Excerpts] A meeting of republican businessmen with President Nabiyev concluded today with a decision to establish a working group of entrepreneurs within the Presidential Council.

At the beginning of the meeting, Nabiyev said there was a need for such a meeting because of the state business is in. Some of the people as well as some leaders think that

the president has a negative attitude toward entrepreneurship and [word indistinct]. Nabiyev pointed out that as far back as 1982 he put forward proposals to open small businesses. However, these proposals were not supported by the leadership of the former USSR.

The president spoke on the economic issues of the republic which the businessmen could have specifically and fruitfully assisted in their solution. He stressed the need to expand entrepreneurship in the production field in addition to trade. [passage omitted]

The issue of standardizing all activities of the republican nongovernmental sector was raised many times at the meeting. It was decided to establish a working group of entrepreneurs within the Presidential Council to urgently examine all these issues.

Azerbaijan

Further Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Events

Mutalibov Rejects Possible UN Forces

LD0502114592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0545 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov, through the head of his press service, today denied rumors that Azerbaijan is ready to receive UN forces for deployment in the zone of interethnic conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. A visit by public figures, independent observers, or journalists might be discussed, but there could be no discussion at all about any kind of interference in the internal affairs of Azerbaijan and even less about any kind of military presence, AZERINFORM cited him as saying.

In an interview to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published today, Ayaz Mutalibov expressed his attitude toward the bloodshed continuing in Nagorno-Karabakh in the following words: "Our conscience is clear; we were not the ones who embarked on the path of confrontation." He placed the blame for "this tragic confrontation" with "Armenian national-separatists who have made territorial claims on Azerbaijan."

The president stated that "during the last three months, Armenian guerrillas have burned down more than 10 Azeri villages, having driven out from them more than 15,000 inhabitants. The number of Azerbaijanis brutally killed, burned alive, and wounded amounts to hundreds." "On the territory of neighboring Armenia," he asserted, "no one is shooting. There is not and has not been a single incident of an Azerbaijani guerrilla being detained on the territory of Armenia."

Ayaz Mutalibov denied that Azerbaijan "is conducting any particular policy with regard to the Armenians or that the rights of the Armenian people in Nagorno-Karabakh are being violated." At the same time, he stressed that "the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of Azerbaijan and in its state structure is being violated."

Answering a question on Azerbaijan's active recent rapproachment toward neighboring Muslim states, in particular toward Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran, the president said that he sees nothing reprehensible in this since links with these countries "are being built on the principles of noninterference in each other's internal affairs." He reacted strongly to the newspaper's question: "Does this mean a geopolitical reorientation by Azerbaijan?"

"What do you mean by reorientation?" he objected. "Certain forces wish to foist upon us the image of orthodox Muslims, of fundamentalist Muslims, although we have only now—and without particular success—begun to return to believers the mosques taken from them by Soviet authorities. I consider that we have built and will continue to build a secular state".

Official Holds News Conference

NC0502092692 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Text] Rasim Agayev, head of the Azerbaijan Presidential Press Office, held a news conference for Azerbaijani and foreign journalists today during which he provided details on recent incidents in the mountainous area in Karabakh. He noted that the media in Moscow and in other parts of the world have had a bias in recent reports on incidents in the area. The bias implies that Azerbaijan and its people are responsible for the present situation.

The media's attacks against Azerbaijan have recently intensified, he continued, because it wants to camouflage Armenian crimes. This whole thing is becoming political, which proves that several forces have united against Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani media must take full advantage of the opportunities it has to inform the world of the realities of the situation, he noted.

Agayev also commented on President Mutalibov's visit to Switzerland, saying that it is essential for Azerbaijan to join the ranks of the world. President Mutalibov's visit to Switzerland, he added, is related to this matter to a certain degree. Agayev then replied to the many questions asked by the journalists.

Azeris Said Preparing 'New Attacks'

OW0402183892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Since February 4 morning the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has been relatively calm. Chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republican parliament Artur Mkrtchan told the Armenian operational headquarters' press office that "this is a sinister silence before a storm." He has information that the Azeri armed units are re-deploying for new attacks.

Meanwhile, the information center LUR reports on Monday [3 February] night Azeri forces shelled the Armenian villages of the Askeansky and Geranboisky (Shaumyanovsky) regions. In the Askeransky region they made an attempt to attack the villages of Nakhichevanik and Khramort, but were pushed back. There have been no reports on casualties.

The Azeri villages of Shaphag, Zeiva and Tapkarakoyunlu of the Geranboisky (Shaumyanovsky) region in Azerbaijan were shelled on February 3 night. As IF [INTERFAX] was told at the Azeri Interior Ministry press center, the shelling left several people dead or wounded, however the exact number of casualties is still unknown. The fire was conducted from the Armenian village of Karachinar.

On the same night the cities of Agdam and Shusha were shelled from the direction of the Askeransky region of

Nagorno-Karabakh. In Agdam 3 people were killed. A number of thos wounded in Shusha is yet unknown. 8 houses were destroyed.

The press center says the situation remained tense on the Armenian-Azeri border last night. The Azeri villages of the Lachinsky, Zangelansky, Kubatlinsky and Tuzsky regions were shelled from the Armenian territory leaving 20 people wounded.

An Azeri Interior Ministry press center spokesman said the Armenian side is concentrating units, armored vehicles, long range artillery and "Grad" missile systems on the border with Azerbaijan, in particular, in the Kapansky and Megrinsky regions. The man said units of the 7th Army stationed in Armenia are being drawn to the border with Azerbaijan.

As IF was told at the Popular Front of Azerbaijan [PFA], on Tuesday [4 February] as a result of negotiations the Armenian side handed over the remains of 11 people lately killed in the Askeransky region to Azerbaijan. The PFA says since January 31 when intense fighting started in the region 39 Azeris have been killed and 81 wounded.

Meanwhile, the Armenian community in Moscow and the Russian Intelligentsia's Committee "Karabakh" staged a picket near the House of Russian Soviets Tuesday. They demanded that Russian and other Commonwealth states help settle the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

'200 Lebanese Mercenaries' Leave

LD0402164592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Azerbaijani president's press service has reported that about 200 Lebanese mercenaries have left for Karabakh via the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Fighting equipment belonging to the Stepanakert regiment of the former Soviet Army is participating in the shelling of Shusha.

Meanwhile, the Nagorno-Karabakh radio station is broadcasting an SOS to the UN Security Council, parliaments of all the countries of the world, public organizations, and the media. The Armenian Government has not yet made any statement on this. This was reported by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

Military Chief on Regiment's Neutrality

NC0302050992 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Mayak radio recently carried a report from Azerbaijan alleging that 50 percent of the troops serving in the military subunits stationed in Stepanakert are Armenians. The report said that these Armenians often use the military equipment and ammunition of the regiment to shell Shusha and Azerbaijani villages.

According to information received from the regiment's commander, the military unit stationed in Stepanakert remains neutral toward the conflict. The claim that Armenians form 50 percent of the regiment is an outright lie.

Apparently not even the neutrality of the Stepanakert regiment is to the liking of the Azerbaijani side. The military equipment of the regiment has never been used to shell Shusha or other Azerbaijani settlements.

Accord on 'Humanitarian Corridor'

LD0502062392 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Paris February 4 (ITAR-TASS)—French State Secretary for humanitarian activity Bernard Kouchner said he had succeeded in ensuring that Azerbaijan and Armenia consented to creating a "humanitarian corridor" between Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and outside world, AFP reports from Davos. He announced this on Monday [3 February] at the World Economic Forum in that Swiss city.

Kouchner said the accord was achieved following his negotiations with the presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia who are also in Davos. Kouchner said he did not know when the corridor could be opened as some technical details remain unresolved.

Relief Measures Unlikely To Avert 'Crisis'

PM0502101992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 2

[Correspondent Zaur Kadymbekov report: "Wait To Die and Get Married... Who Is Being Hit Hardest by the 'Price Fever'"]

[Text] A decree by the Azerbaijani president "On Measures To Strengthen Legality in the Sphere of Economic Activity" has been published in Baku. It envisages stepping up the day-to-day work of law enforcement agencies—the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Security, the Prosecutor's Office, the courts, and also the Tax Inspectorate and the Customs Service. What are the grounds for tightening the measures aimed at those who break the law in the economic sphere, particularly in trade?

At a time when the republic is switching to market relations, and mainly since the reform government of the Russian Federation dragged the entire ruble area into the orbit of total liberalization, the living standard of the Azerbaijani population has begun to plunge swiftly—literally in a matter of hours rather than days—into the abyss of poverty.

In the sidewalk shop windows of the newfound traders, you can find everything you could wish for. For some

reason it is often produced locally, but the family budget of most Baku inhabitants only permits them to gaze from afar at the wonders displayed right on the street. The shadow economy is emerging from the shadows and becoming entirely legal. Lawyers working on cases involving speculation, embezzlement, and other economic crimes are practically out of a job. The wretchedness of the counters in government stores is only highlighted by the luxuriance of commercial counters overflowing with abundant foreign goods.

Price tickets are painful in the food stores: A bottle of kefir costs 7.5 rubles [R], a microscopic piece of cheese costs R4.5, a smoked sausage costs R153, and a peanut cake which recently cost R3 now retails for R35. There are no cigarettes at state prices—the cheapest ones cost between R8 and R15 per pack from the same street "businessmen," although the Baku tobacco combine is still in the state system. Who sets the new prices and where they are set is unclear.

Why have foodstuffs—which recently could at least be obtained with coupons—vanished from the counters? The absence of meat and milk even at the new prices is not only attributable to the decline in the level of work in the stockraising sector, but also to the considerable shortfall in deliveries from other regions. According to evidence from Ragim Guseynov, chairman of the food commission and the republic's deputy prime minister, as of January the Ukraine has failed to come up with 20 percent of deliveries, Kazakhstan has not delivered 64 percent of the meat that was expected, and the Russian Federation has not sent a single kilogram of the planned 66,000-tonne sugar delivery. But what would happen if Azerbaijan were to take retaliatory measures and suspend delivery of industrial output to CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries?

The presidency has also taken a measure to protect by decree people who are budget-financed: The salary and stipends of students, research students, and students at secondary specialized educational institutions and vocational and technical colleges have been doubled. The minimum pension, like the minimum wage, will now be R317. Additional grants have been established for families with children, and various concessions have been introduced for other categories of the population. A decision has been made to reduce bread prices, which were on the point of being raised, by 30 percent from 1 February. But it is unlikely that these measures will be able to avert a crisis. They can only alleviate the lot of the have-nots to a small degree.

...In a line at the market I overheard a sad conversation showing not just that reserves are running low in already depleted wallets, but also that people's reserves of patience are melting away: "My God, I should shoot myself—an egg for R3." "I wouldn't do that, lady," the man next in line tried to calm her down, "shooting yourself would cost more. Imagine the prices your poor relatives would pay for the meat, butter, rice, tea, sugar, and flour for the funeral meal. It would completely ruin them."

Ruin and despair also threaten those honest people who take it into their heads to celebrate a wedding, a housewarming, or a birthday nowadays. Oh, if only it were possible to issue another decree that would not only forbid people to marry in view of the economic situation, but also forbid them to die!

Georgia

Tengiz Sigua Interviewed on Events, Prospects

AU0402190292 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Feb 92 p 8

[Interview with Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua by Csaba Poor in Tbilisi; date not given: "The Commonwealth of States Has No Future—Gamsakhurdia Did Not Keep Any of His Promises"]

[Text] From being a scientist Tengiz Sigua turned into a politician. For many months the economics professor was the prime minister of the recently overthrown Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, but he resigned his post in August and went into opposition. When Gamsakhurdia fled the country after three weeks of armed combat on 6 January, Sigua became the leader of the temporary government ruling the country. While the National Guard and the units of the Mkhedrioni military organization were still fighting for the control of the last west Georgian strongholds of the "Zviadists," the cabinet began to implement economic and political reforms. In his interview with MAGYAR HIRLAP, Sigua talked about these measures, the future of Georgia, and the tragic events of the past weeks.

[Poor] Various analysts have different views on the turn of events in Georgia during December and January. Some see it as a coup, others call it a plot, and many people consider it an uprising. How would you describe these events?

[Sigua] It was clearly an uprising. It cannot be considered anything else. Just remember that the president always said that 87 percent of the population supported him. If this were true, then the events would have taken a different turn. We talk about a coup when the power of the head of the state is overthrown by the army but, in our case, exactly the opposite happened. There was an opposition demonstration in front of the government palace on 21 December and another demonstration planned for the next day. Many people spent the night in the square, but in the morning—and this can be proved—some 80 people with machine guns rushed out of the building and opened fire on the people sleeping in cars. Therefore, the military action was begun by the president's people. The demonstrators were only defended by 15 members of the National Guard. Would

they have been the ones who stormed the government palace where Gamsakhurdia had concentrated some 1,000 armed people?

[Poor] If it was an uprising, then whose was it?

[Sigua] It included all sectors of the population. A considerable number of students, intelligentsia, workers, and peasants supported this action. If Gamsakhurdia had indeed enjoyed the trust of almost 90 percent of the population, then they would naturally have taken action in his defense in various parts of the country. This did not happen, although people did not have to fear retribution because the National Guard units were not present in any of the villages. They were stationed at the storage lake near Tbilisi.

[Poor] At the same time, walking the streets of the capital, one gets the impression that the masses are passive and, what is more, disinterested....

[Sigua] I do not agree with you. If this were true, then the National Guard would not have such power. Do not forget that ordinary people defended Tbilisi and put guards on the roads leading to the city.

[Poor] In the autumn, when the opposition movement was becoming stronger, you probably held several discussions with Tengiz Kitovani, commander of the guards, who also broke with Gamsakhurdia in the middle of August. Did you expect the events to take such a tragic turn?

[Sigua] No. I told you that the Guard was not even in Tbilisi. I telephoned Kitovani when the shooting started. They were not even ready for deployment. It took them one and a half hours to reach the city, although the journey only takes 40 minutes at most. As a matter of fact, at 1600 on 22 December, that is, not long after the fighting started, Gamsakhurdia sent a message that he wanted to talk to me. We spoke on the telephone, and he was trying to convince me to form a coalition government and that we should cooperate with each other. My answer was that this was out of the question, and that the only solution was for him and his family to leave Tbilisi.

[Poor] Did he agree?

[Sigua] Yes, he did. I felt from his voice that this was one of the rare moments when he spoke the truth. He only asked for a guarantee that he would not be hurt on the way to the airport. I offered to sit in his car and escort him myself. We spoke again three hours later. He asked for some time because his wife was not feeling well and had to rest. Before midnight, however, he said that he did not want to go back on his word but the decision did not only depend on him. As it later became evident, Gamsakhurdia was indeed ready to leave Georgia, but his wife, sister-in-law, and Manana Dzodzuashvili, the former health minister, pointed a gun at him and said: "If you decide to leave, we will shoot you on the spot!" I am very sorry for him as a person. By then, he was probably incapable of making an independent decision and these three "ladies" kept him in check. For example, the order to shoot at the demonstrators was given by his sister-in-law. The president was not even in the government palace when the first shots were fired.

[Poor] Most of his former friends and allies have turned against Gamsakhurdia now. You are one of them. When did you understand that you could not support the president anymore?

[Sigua] I can tell you exactly: It was 18 June, when we had a serious conversation. Gamsakhurdia took off his mask on this occasion. I understood that he did not want privatization or land reform, that he was preparing for arrests, and that there would soon be political prisoners in Georgia. He did not keep any of his promises. He wanted to create an isolated state similar to Albania.

[Poor] You only resigned your position as a minister one and a half months later, however, in the middle of August....

[Sigua] Four days after the conversation I mentioned, I announced that I was leaving my post. Gamsakhurdia began to explain things, that he had not expressed himself clearly, that everything would be all right, and that we would work together. I wanted to resign again in the middle of August, but he kept trying to convince me that I had misunderstood him. On 15 August, I finally announced that I was not staying in the prime minister's chair.

[Poor] Had you not noticed earlier the president's tendency toward dictatorship?

[Siua] I simply did not want to believe that this man, who had been in opposition for 30 years and fought against socialism, could suddenly turn into the most faithful supporter of this system, not only adjusting to it but making it even more ruthless. He made serious mistakes in personnel policy. There is little grain in Georgia and we do not have energy resources, but we are intellectually rich. The president puts untrained people into responsible positions. He actually surrounded himself with slaves rather than experts, yes-men who agreed to every measure.

[Poor] What fate awaits Gamsakhurdia?

[Sigua] Look, we already know that the president committed crimes against the state. Huge sums in rubles and foreign currencies were stolen from the state bank, and he also bears the responsibility for the nation's division. We will charge him officially and we will deal with him according to the laws.

[Poor] Western Georgia was still being controlled by the president's supporters when your government began to implement the reforms. In your view, what are the most important tasks now?

[Sigua] Political consolidation, stabilization of the economy, food supplies, energy, establishment of a democratic state structure, and further economic and political reforms. We have passed a law on land reform, we began to break up the collective and state farms, and we are giving the land to the people free of charge. Preparation for the privatization of apartments, light industry, trade, and service units is in its last stage. The law on political parties and organizations, which was suspended by Gamsakhurdia, has been reinstated, the Justice Ministry is in the process of registering the parties, and we have freed the press. There are no government newspapers. I believe that it is very important to strengthen our foreign relations, and it is a great pleasure that 24 countries have already recognized Georgia's sovereignty, in spite of the tragic events.

[Poor] According to most assessments, there is too much dissension within the former opposition and the various factions were united by one issue, the overthrow of Gamsakhurdia. Does this threaten political stabilization?

[Sigua] There are no serious conflicts. We have established a temporary political consultative council and all major parties are represented. Although we do have differences of opinion on the progress of privatization and the future structure of the state, we have so far managed to come to an agreement on the main issues. For example, discussions have begun on the South Ossetia conflict. The first goal of the dialogue is the establishment of a cease-fire, then a final settlement, which, in my view, can be achieved within a month.

[Poor] The fact that a number of parties support the idea of restoring the monarchy while others are committed to a republican system could cause debates within the former opposition. Which idea do you support?

[Sigua] The new parliament will have to decide on this issue. Personally, I sympathize with the idea of restoring the constitutional monarchy and do not see anything wrong in it, but it probably cannot be done quickly and it has to be seriously discussed. I could not tell you how many people would support the establishment of a monarchy, but my feeling is that most people prefer a parliamentary republic.

[Poor] You have often referred to the possibility that Eduard Shevardnadze could play a serious role in Georgia's democratization, and the former foreign affairs minister is actually willing to do this. Georgian attitudes Shevardnadze are not at all clear. Do you think that he can return successfully to his native land?

[Sigua] As the first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, Shevardnadze was forced to implement Moscow's orders, and people indeed have different opinions on him. At the same time, he has joined the Georgian Democratic Party and they will probably run him in the parliamentary elections. In that case, everything will depend on the voters.

[Poor] Does he have a chance?

[Sigua] I am certain that he will have enough support to be elected as a deputy. We can already use, however, his enormous international prestige in the interest of Georgia.

[Poor] You are one of those politicians who realize that Georgia is connected to Russia and the former Soviet member states by vitally important links. In your view, is it possible that Georgia will join the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]

[Sigua] The CIS has no future. We have not yet had time to carefully study the documents of Alma Ata and Minsk, our experts are currently doing this, but the events of the past few weeks—the opposition of Russia and the Ukraine in the issue of the Black Sea Fleet, the debate between Russia and Kazakhstan on Baykonyr—show that the CIS has no perspective.

[Poor] What will happen to the Army units stationed here?

[Sigua] We agreed to start negotiations on the gradual withdrawal of troops after making a political and economic agreement with Russia, I emphasize, Russia, rather than the CIS.

[Poor] In Tbilisi, one often hears the opinion that you are only a temporary figure in high-level Georgian politics. Is that true?

[Sigua] I will resign and return to science as soon as the situation becomes normal. There are many talented young people in the country who can fill the prime minister's post.

[Poor] When will this happen?

[Sigua] Probably at the end of May or the beginning of June. Although there are people who want to postpone them until the autumn, parliamentary elections must be held in the spring, in my view. The country cannot function for eight or nine months without a legitimate legislature.

Ioseliani Asked To Assess Developments

AU0402170892 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] The news conference by Tengiz Sigua, acting prime minister of the Republic of Georgia, that had been planned for 3 February, did not take place. However, journalists who had been invited to take part in it had somebody else to talk to. They formed a tight circle around Jaba Ioseliani, member of the Military Council, who appeared in the audience. He had just returned from western Georgia. Naturally, the very first question was on the situation in those rayons that only quite recently were referred to as hot spots. As pointed out by Jaba Ioseliani, [words indistinct]. With regard to Zugdidi, the people there showed an understanding of the events that

had taken place. It goes without saying that the change in their perception was also due to the extensive information campaign that is being conducted in the town. The television center that had been blown up by Gamsakhurdia's supporters resumed work, [words indistinct], and the children will soon go to school.

Assessing the recent events in Tbilisi, the member of the Military Council emphasized that the rallies and demonstrations conducted by the supporters of the former president are, in fact, planned armed actions and that they resemble the operations that were once conducted by fascists. They held such demonstrations, with women and children pushed to the forefront and with armed militants following behind.

After the escape of the ex-president from Tbilisi, said Jaba Ioseliani, we made a public declaration on general reconciliation. However, the supporters of the deposed dictator continue their destructive actions. Measures corresponding to the state of emergency will be taken against such provocateurs, he stressed. Democracy needs to be defended. Otherwise, anarchy will prevail, concluded Jaba Ioseliani.

We reiterate that all those wishing to express their points of view on the events that are now taking place in Georgia may convey them to the population and the broad public by means of radio, television and other mass media.

Political Bloc Does Not Accept New Government

OW0502012492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The political parties and organizations entering the bloc "Round Table-Free Georgia" have announced that they do not accept the new government and would push for the return of the legitimate Georgian president and government to power.

The bloc's statement made published [as received] in Samtredia stresses that it would struggle by peaceful means only. The bloc was formerly led by Zviad Gamsakhurdia. It had a majority in the republican parliament.

Abkhaz Strikers May Face 'Severe Measures'

AU0402170692 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 4 Feb

[Text] As you know, subunits of the Military Council entered the territory of Gali rayon and the town of Gali. They are completely in control of the situation in the rayon. According to preliminary data, this occurred without any confrontation or bloodshed.

This morning, the Abkhaz Supreme Council sent representatives of law enforcement organs from Sukhumi to Gali rayon.

Today, at the session of the Abkhaz Supreme Council in Sukhumi, the first question on the agenda concerned the situation that has developed in Abkhazia. Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Council, gave information on this question. He said that, in the last few days, the Georgian provisional government and the Military Council had (?repeatedly) raised before the Abkhaz Supreme Council the question of a halt to the strikes by railway and aviation workers that are seriously impeding the normalization of life in the Republic of Georgia.

At the same time, Vladislav Ardzinba pointed out that he had had a telephone conversation with Batoni [honorific] Tengiz Sigua yesterday evening, who again raised the question of putting a halt to the strikes and of life returning to normal. Ardzinba stated that Batoni Tengiz Sigua's opinion fully concurred with his own and with that of the Abkhaz Supreme Council on this question, although Vladislav Ardzinba added that the existing situation could be regulated by political means. He emphasized that there should be a stop to the strikes and rallies in Abkhazia and, if the strike committee did not comply with this, the authorities would be obliged to take severe measures. In answer to a question from one of the deputies as to whether the introduction of military forces into Gali rayon would destabilize the situation in Abkhazia, Vladislav Ardzinba said that, possibly on the contrary, the introduction of Military Council units (?would make) the situation more calm. At the same time, he said that he would be getting in touch with Batoni Tengiz Sigua in order to clarify if there were (?any other) reasons for the introduction of Military Council units into Abkhazia.

A group of deputies was (?nominated) at the session to meet with members of the strike committee in Sukhumi and try to persuade them to end their strike. However, to all intents and purposes, work began today at Sukhumi airport. We have information that the first plane has left for Tbilisi.

Details Given on S. Ossetia Strength, Weaponry

LD0402200392 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] The Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] gives details on the strength and weaponry of the groups operating in South Ossetia as follows:

A 1,500-strong Georgian military group on the outskirts of Tskhinval is facing about 1,000 fighters from South Ossetia's armed formations. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told today at the Operational Group of Internal Troops of the Russian MVD that the Ossetian side is armed with five mortars, one salvo-firing installation, 22 armored vehicles, machine guns, submachine guns, and shotguns. The Georgian group is located mainly in the villages of Eredvi and Nikomi. Its units possess several Alazan launchers [puskovyye ustanovki Alazan], free-flight rockets, and automatic weapons.

Minister: 'Around 80%' of Enterprises Idle

OW0502012092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian Finance Minister Parnaiz Ananishvili said that around 80% of Georgian enterprises are idle in the republic.

They are idle because of the shortage of electricity, natural gas and disrupted economic ties with the former Soviet republics.

Commentary on Gamsakhurdia's 'Shameless Frenzy'

PM0502105392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Commentary by Albert Plutnik on interview with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, former president of Georgia, under general headline: "Zviad Gamsakhurdia in Combat With External and Internal Foes"]

[Text] Judging by Gamsakhurdia's interview, the shortest way to transform a dictator into a democrat is to deprive him of power.

Indeed, who would have thought that Zviad Gamsakhurdia would immediately begin appealing to all "who value the ideals of democracy, freedom, and human rights." As though it were to that camp that he most inclined in theory and practice in his actual policy. But what about the reprisals against the opposition—the abuse, threats, arrests, imprisonments, the use of weapons against unarmed people, the blood which flowed on the Tbilisi streets even before the siege of Government House by opposition forces? Or were the president's supporters defending freedom and democracy with weapons in their hands? For example, the freedom of the press under which any alternative thinking was banned. The mass media seemed to have been returned to our recent stone age—when censorship was rife and in the press and on television the top leadership heard only its own voice explaining to the people that what the latter were hearing was their voice.

One is shaken by the interviewee's shameless frenzy and his hope that we all have such short memories. One is also shaken by the conceit, the features of which are so clear in Zviad Gamsakhurdia's verbal self-portrait. It is simply incredible that someone capable even at the very peak of his personal tragedy—and, most important, the people's tragedy, caused precisely by his confused policy, ambitious nature, striking disrespect for his own people, and absolute contempt for those who dared express their own opinion during his rule—can like himself so much and see himself as such a wise, humane, and perspicacious person.

Meanwhile, it was natural to presuppose that during the hours of that upheaval, that Shakespearean frenzy of passions—when the country's most prominent politician of yesterday is today forced to take refuge goodness knows where in his own country, shunning the gaze of outsiders—there would emerge within him a need for catharsis and repentance and for a penetrating revelation of tragic power addressed to a suffering nation torn into warring groups... Alas, all we hear are the same cold and unfeeling statements repeated many times over before.

However, let us pay tribute to the former president: He is as unjust to himself as he is to his political opponents. It is only his own activity that he shamelessly embellishes, while he equally shamelessly denigrates theirs. His conflict with the opposition was acted out before the eyes of the whole world, a conflict in which the president, both in form and substance, demonstrated not directness but obduracy and, if you like, political immaturity—an elementary lack of political flexibility and political intuition. He disregarded all obstacles, resorting to abuse and threats, as though unaware that this road in politics is the most futile. And the opposition acted the same way. It must be said that the actions of the opposition, which operated on the principle of "blood for blood," were morally and legally far from irreproachable. But he who sows the wind...

He had a unique ability to transform his most loyal friends into his enemies in an instant. The way he treated those who contradicted him made you think that there ought to be a special law to protect the honor and dignity not of the president but of his opponents.

He succeeded in doing what only a few are capable of—in just a few months he managed to lose—you could say squander or dissipate—the people's trust. The position graphically illustrated in that interview and the extremely low intellectual comprehension of the situation in the republic (there are foes all around, if not external then internal, most often both the former and the latter), which, to be blunt, are unworthy of the leader of a state with such rich and ancient cultural traditions, give a clear picture of how he managed to do that. Indeed, his inability to look at himself from the outside and reach realistic conclusions and a sober self-assessment add much to that.

In his replies the former president, effectively showing that he is living in some irrational world and taking no account of present and past realities, seems to be wondering: What would I do if I were president. But he has already known that fate—he was president. And he showed what he would do, but not in words. The Georgian people remembered that. We think that they will never forget.

Estonia

Possibility of Arms From Russia Seen as 'Real'

OW0502023592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1830 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An Estonian government official in charge of defense matters Tomas Puura said the possibility that Estonia will receive arms from Russia is real. He told BF [BALTFAX] that Estonia expepts to take control of the arms belonging to the former Soviet Union's Armed Forces in Estonia or at least part of them after they are withdrawn. Puura also said Estonia had already considered the possibility of purchasing armaments from the former socialist countries, in the first place Czechoslovakia. However, no official talks on the issue have yet been held.

Experts Say Market Transition To Be 'Painful'

OW3101234492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1501 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Experts from the International Monetary Fund [IMF] said on Friday [31 January] at a press-conference in Tallinn that Estonia's "transition to the market economy will be painful". They believe this will be primarily due to disrupted trade with ex-Soviet republics and Estonia's early adoption of world prices. IMF experts predict an acute crisis for Estonia's economy, caused in particular by higher prices of imported energy resources, as well as inflation and balance of payments deficit. IMF experts are advising Estonia to step up the pace of privatisation so as to move faster to the market system. Thus far denationalisation in the republic has been slowed down by delays in settling matters related to citizenship, slow progress of land reform, and the need to return property to its former owners. The experts have also sugested that Estonia carry out a comprehensive price liberalisation before introducing its own currency.

IMF's specialists had come to Estonia to look into the matters related to its admission to this international financial institution, which, it was declared at the press-conference, could happen in May or June this year.

More Details on Economic Agreement With Russia

LD0302020592 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1930 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] We have just received news that Oleg Panfilov, director-general of Estonian Fuel, has told the Baltic News Service that Russian Deputy Prime Minister Gaydar today signed the agreement according to which Russia will supply fuel to Estonia against electricity and foodstuffs in the first quarter of the year as follows: 25,000 tonnes of gasoline; 30,000 tonnes of diesel fuel; 300,000 tonnes of fuel oil; 284 million cubic meters of natural gas and 5,800 cubic meters of liquid gas. The total of the agreement based on world market prices amounts to 63.2 million United States dollars.

Swedish Aid To Purchase Fodder, Seed Grain

LD0102092292 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] Representatives of the Swedish SIDA [Swedish International Development Authority] development aid organization during their visit to the Ministry of Agriculture yesterday said that Sweden has allocated 5 million kronor for aid to Estonia. Seven million tonnes of fodder will be bought and sent to Estonia with this money.

Ruve Sank, department head of the Ministry of Agriculture, said to ETA that a start has already been made to loading two ships on Gottland. They will dock here in the next few days.

During the talks with the Swedish representatives it was also agreed that, if the five million kronor are enough for this, 1,000 tonnes of seed grain will be purchased for Estonia.

Ruutel Says Servicemen as Deputies 'Improper'

OW0102011692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Estonian parliament, Mr. Arnold Ruutel, described as improper the involvement of foreign servicemen in running the affairs of the state in which they were present temporarily, says the communique of Mr. Ruutel's press service, published in Tallinn on Friday [31 January].

This document says that the Estonian parliament's deputies, representing the Armed Forces, were elected in closed Soviet garrisons, while the elections themselves were held in a cardinally different political and legal setting. The restoration of Estonian independence radically changed the legal status of the former Soviet Army officers in Estonia, Mr. Ruutel stated.

He also said that he kept no personal grudges against the four deputies representing the former Soviet Armed Forces. "However, in no other country, can servicemen of a foreign army have parliamentary powers," he said. Mr. Ruutel's statement was made in response to the Estonian ex-premier's recent article defending these deputies.

Deputy Speaker Addresses Citizenhip Law Issue

PM3101151492 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 28 Jan 92 p 3

[Unattributed report on undated Tallinn interview with Estonian parliament deputy speaker Viktor Andreyev]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian parliament's Russian-speaking deputy speaker, Viktor Andreyev, 43, accepts the law on citizenship which dates from 1938 and which the parliament decided in November to reintroduce, but whose application has yet to be decided. He thinks that it is a democratic law.

The law means that all those who in 1940 were citizens of the independent republic of Estonia and their descendants are automatically entitled to citizenship. The requirements for foreigners wishing to become citizens are that they have been resident in the country for at least two years—after which a citizenship application takes a further year—and that they are able to demonstrate some knowledge of Estonian.

"But I think that those people who want Estonian citizenship and apply for it should retain their political and economic rights during the time they are waiting for citizenship," Andreyev said.

For example, they would therefore have the right to vote in the parliamentary elections planned for this year. Since it now looks as if the 1938 citizenship law is being interpreted in such a way that the two years plus the one-year waiting period is to run from the declaration of independence on 20 August last year and not from the time the applicant moved into the country, this means that the majority of the Russian and non-Estonian population will be without a vote over the next few years.

Viktor Andreyev himself is one of these people, although he was born in Estonia and his mother was Estonian. However, his mother was not a citizen of prewar independent Estonia. She lived in Novgorod and only moved to Estonia during the Soviet era.

Andreyev stressed that adjustment of Russians to Estonian society and its economic and political life would be facilitated if they were given economic and political rights during the waiting period.

He pointed out that according to studies 46 percent of Russians in Estonia support the country's independence. The rest, a little over 50 percent, are hesitant and this is due in part to the fact that Russia has yet to approve a citizenship law of its own. They have clearly not decided whether to become Russian citizens or to apply for Estonian citizenship.

"It is clear that the biggest obstacle for those who still do not know whether they will apply for citizenship is the Estonian language. This applies above all to older people. It is very difficult for them to learn Estonian, if they have not learned it yet," Andreyev said.

Andreyev has a fairly good command of Estonian. Some of the interview took place in Estonian, but when he wanted to express himself with particular clarity he made the transition to Russian.

Andreyev was unwilling to assess the chances of pushing through the sort of legislation he himself wants on citizenship and economic and political rights. Contrary to the general view that outgoing Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar had been ready to make major concessions to the Russian, he described Savisaar as "our foremost opponent."

"Unfortunately Savisaar has moved to the right and at present it seems to be very difficult to introduce a satisfactory application of the law on citizenship," Andreyev said.

Of the almost 1.6 million people who now live in Estonia, it is estimated that half a million are Russians and a little over 100,000 are non-Estonians. Some of them do not even need to apply for citizenship, because they will get it automatically. Before the war 8 percent of Estonia's population were Russians.

At least some of the others will probably move to Russia.

"A process is already under way and last year a law supporting it was approved. However, I consider that the government and the authorities should not be allowed to force the process, nor should they raise obstacles," Andreyev said.

He does not know how many have already moved or intend to move. One estimate is that 50,000 Russians would move away, but Andreyev himself thinks the figure is exaggerated.

Deputy speaker Andreyev has not discovered any serious signs of Estonian nationalism in Estonia.

"If you make a comparison with Lithuania and Latvia, for example, the Estonians are very reasonable. There have been no acts of violence in Estonia, as there have been in the other two Baltic states. And in parliament too the Estonian and Russian deputies get on well together.

"Of course, as in every other country small expressions of nationalism can occur," Andreyev said, alluding to the desecration of some graves and meetings of veterans who fought on the German side during World War II.

There have also be threats against Jews, but the parliament reacted immediately and the matter could be removed from the agenda, he said.

Viktor Andreyev said that he was in favor of independence for Estonia even before the events of August last year.

"As a scientist (in the technical sciences) I made my calculations and reached the conclusion that independence was an inevitable process," he explained.

However, he would have preferred to have seen independence achieved through negotiations and along the parliamentary route.

"But things took the course they took."

Andreyev was elected to the Estonian parliament in 1990 as a representative for Kohtla-Jarve, where around 80 percent of the inhabitants are Russian. He was also an

active members of the CPSU for a long time. But his activities in it ended automatically when the party was dissolved last August. Now he says he supports the Estonian Communist Party, which has not been banned and is still functioning.

"The Estonian Communist Party is a reasonable party. I support it completely. There must also be a left-wing party in the country," he said.

Latvia

Claims To Army Property Discussed 'Extensively'

PM0502095592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Irina Litvinova: "Latvia Also Laying Claim to Soviet Army Property"]

[Text] Talks on military questions are beginning between Latvia and Russia. On the eve of the talks, 28 January, the Latvian parliament returned to the question of former USSR Army property on the republic's territory.

A special resolution states that the leadership of the Northwest Group of Forces, the Baltic Fleet, the border district, and air defense are ignoring the Supreme Council's decision on the transfer of military property to the Latvian Republic's ownership. Therefore the Supreme Council is forming a special institution of authorized representatives to itemize and inspect military installations so that nothing is overlooked. Then the authorized representatives will help to "acquire" army property.

The Latvian Supreme Council has asked the command of the Northwest Group of Forces, the Baltic Fleet, and other military subunits to assist the authorized representatives. The military leadership's reaction is unknown as yet. But Latvian newspapers are discussing this theme extensively.

One could not help but notice the headline in the official Latvian newspaper DIENA: "They Are Stealing Latvia's Submarines." Who is, and why? However, the newspaper did not explain.

The riddle was simple. The issue concerned some obsolete Baltic Fleet submarines which had been written off and are now being sold as scrap to the West. The proceeds from this deal are to be used to pay for moving the former USSR units from the Baltic to their new location. But the Latvian parliament's resolution declared army property to be Latvian property. Therefore the Army's deals are "causing Latvia ever greater losses: Former USSR Army property located here and due to be transferred to the Latvian Republic's ownership is being transferred illegally to the East, the West, and simply into the hands of private individuals and enterprises," the newspaper writes.

Recently, since the USSR and the Ministry of Defense disintegrated, the military stationed in the Baltic have been increasingly trying to take the solution of their problems into their own hands. As IZVESTIYA has already reported, recently in Riga there was a meeting of the coordinating council of the servicemen of the Baltic region. Participants included border troops, Baltic Fleet sailors, air defense troops, aviation, and representatives of servicemen's families. The meeting was stormy and the document adopted was unusual.

The coordinating council adopted an appeal in the form of an ultimatum to the heads of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member states. The military recalled that in recent months they have sent a number of documents to the top leadership asking that it immediately decide the future of the servicemen being withdrawn from the Baltic. There has been no answer. That is why, as your IZVESTIYA correspondent was told by Colonel V. Kandalovskiy, chairman of the coordinating council, the ultimatum specified a date—31 January. If the military stationed in the Baltic region are not designated as owners of the property [by then], the coordinating council assumes responsibility for resolving the problem itself and will act as it sees fit.

Economic Agreement With Russia 'in Danger'

LD0402220792 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2130 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] The government economic agreement between Latvia and Russia is in danger at its first step due to the delays in the agreed terms for petrol deliveries from Russia to Latvia. Latvia's Prime Minister, Ivars Godmanis, described the situation as political pressure from Russia's side, stating that he is going to turn to the local entrepreneurs, who previously promised to secure the Latvian market with fuel, unless an agreed amount of the petrol is received by Wednesday [5 February].

Russia Stops Cargo Deliveries Through Junction

LD0202160892 Riga Radio Riga International in English 0700 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Russia has stopped all deliveries of cargo to Latvia by railroad via Daugavpils, the largest junction in the east of Latvia, the daily DIENA reports, citing a Latvian railroad company official. Russia has opened a customs post in the (Vitalova), former (Obrenniy), railroad station on the border with Latvia, where customs officers operate jointly with Russian state security forces, stopping all cargos heading for Latvia. Part of the freight cars carrying goods for Latvia have been sidetracked while some, including about 100 tank wagons of oil products, have been sent back to consignors, said the official.

Russian Annexation of City of Abrene 'Hasty'

LD0402045792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1933 GMT 31 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Sergey Dimanis qualifies Latvian Supreme Soviet decree on annexation of the city of Abrene by Russia as hasty political move; The chairman of the Supreme Soviet opposition faction Ravnopraviye Sergey Dimanis also said the following:

I believe that Abrene should remain Latvian territory. However, that issue should be resolved through negotiations with Russia with regard to all the aspects of the problem including the opinion of the local population. As for political consequences, I believe, we stand to lose if Russia takes heed of the decree and uses it against us. In case the decree passes unnoticed, the radicals in the parliament are likely to gain several political scores in reward to having pushed it through.

The decree adopted by the Latvian Supreme Soviet on January 22, qualifies the terms of setting up the Pskov region outlined in the USSR decree of August 23, 1944, according to which the Abrene district was included into it, as unconstitutional. The correspondent legislative acts of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic dated back to that period were also invalidated. The decree confirms that the border between Latvia and Russia was still determined by the peace treaty of 1920 signed by the two states pointing out that the above-mentioned documents were violating it. A decision to show the city of Abrene on the map of the world as Latvian territory was adopted at the session of the foreign affairs commission of the Latvian Republic with the proviso that the city remained annexed.

Government Discusses Economy With Entrepreneurs

LD0302104792 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent Karlis Grinborg]

[Excerpt] Today Ivars Godmanis, the chairman of the Council of Ministers; Arnis Kalnins, the minister of economic reforms; Normunds Luste, Kalinins' deputy; and Aivars Millers, minister of industry and energy, had a meeting with directors of industrial enterprises. The premier extensively described the economic situation, emphasizing relations with Russia. Here is a brief excerpt of what he said:

[Begin Godmanis recording] The question how to get out of hyperinflation is not a simple one. It is connected with whether the rural areas will begin to produce more, whether the private farmers will produce or not. If they would not produce, then there will be problems.

And with industry the matter is as follows. If we do not get a clear idea concerning raw materials—and I no longer rely on raw materials from Russia I have stopped relying on them—then, new markets have to be searched for, new variants have to searched for, Ukraine, the vertical axis, must be searched for, search must be extended to Eastern Europe. Yes, all this is unpleasant, but it is not possible to work with completely irrational neighbors, I apologize. Either we engage in politics or in economy. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Lithuania

Landsbergis Briefs Swiss Economic Forum

OW0502001492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1441 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis told the World Economic Forum in Davos that Lithuania was seeking Western loans worth 200 million dollars to introduce her own currency—the lit. He noted that his republic needed assistance in setting up the Anti-Crisis and Stabilization Fund.

Vytautas Landsbergis said that the gold returned to Lithuania from France and Britain was not enough to put the lit in circulation. Vilnius therefore reckons on assistance of the International Monetary Fund which Lithuania hopes to join in April 1992. The Lithuanian bank-notes have been printed and are stored in the Lithuanian banks, said Vytautas Landsbergis.

Returns From Forum

LD0502093692 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 0000 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] The Lithuanian parliamentary leader Vytautas Landsbergis has returned from Davos in Switzerland where he participated in the World Economic Forum.

In an interview in the Vilnius airport, Mr. Landsbergis told newsmen that the world's anxiety over the future of Russia leaves the Baltics a bit out of the global political and economic focus so it was possible to draw the attention of leading political and economic figures who attended the Davos conference to the current tendencies prevalent in the Baltics due to Russia's economic troubles.

At present, Lithuania is mainly concerned with irregular energy and raw materials supplies, the introduction of national currency, and the withdrawal of the former Soviet troops from the Lithuanian soil.

Economics Minister Returns From China

LD0102001292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Economics Minister Albertas Simenas returned to Vilnius today following a visit to Beijing, where a trade and economic agreement was signed between Lithuania and China.

In a television interview, Albertas Simenas pointed out that it is important for Lithuania to ensure alternative partners for economic cooperation in addition to Russia. Moreover, China can become one of those.

A Chinese delegation of members of its future commercial mission in Vilnius plans to visit Lithuania soon. Negotiations will be held with them on specific trade projects.

Landsbergis Appeals to Supreme Council

PM3101162992 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 22 Jan 92 p 1

["Appeal of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council Presidium to Supreme Council Deputies"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council Presidium discussed 15 January 1992 the question of the political situation which has developed in Lithuania and the microclimate in parliament. Experiencing severe ordeals in the process of restoring Lithuania's statehood, the inhabitants of Lithuania are facing decisive economic and political reforms. Heated arguments accompany any step of any significance, various positions and interests are clashing, and the strategic tasks are often not seen through the web of petty discords. Although fundamental laws enshrining our statehood have been adopted, events are forcing us to make additions and amendments to decisions adopted earlier and to remove the barriers to their implementation. The postponement of or delayed reaction to the demands thrown up by events are hindering the reforms and provoking a feeling of irritation and unnecessary political passions. The Supreme Council Presidium believes that this tension may be reduced by immediately amending or supplementing the laws of particular importance to Lithuania's political and economic life and by a more tolerant assessment of diverse opinions.

In spite of the fact that the Supreme Council session's agenda envisages the discussion of other important questions, we nevertheless propose that one of its first actions should be to adopt the new version of the Law on Self-Governing Entities. We also believe it should resolve the question of urgently preparing and adopting the Constitution of the Lithuanian Republic.

[Signed] Vytautas Landsbergis, Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman
[Date] Vilnius, 20 January 1992

New 'National Progress' Faction Registered

PM0302094992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Jurgis Tubinis report under the "Nearby Foreign Countries" rubric: "Left-Wingers Among Right-Wingers?"]

[Text] A new faction, the National Progress faction, has been registered in the Lithuanian Supreme Council.

One faction more, one faction less? In parliament there are already right-wing radicals, centrists, left-wingers, representatives of the Polish minority....

However, the emergence of this new grouping of like-minded deputies attests to serious processes in the political life of Lithuania which could lead to profound changes.

The emergence of the "progressists" faction may be regarded as a split among right-wingers and the emergence of a right-wing opposition. Yet we should hardly speak of a split.

But an opposition... For Lithuania this is a quite familiar concept. Members of the opposition have made their presence felt quite loudly both in the shape of the Democratic Labor Party and in the form of the Forum of the Future, which unites a number of left-wing movements. But these were mainly former communists who broke away from the CPSU back in late 1989 and were also joined by a section of the centrists. You cannot accuse the National Progress faction of changing color. Suffice it to say that it includes A. Butkevicius, minister of territorial protection, and unsullied politicians known throughout Lithuania—E. Klumbis, K. Grinjus, and others. The new faction intends to adhere consistently to the Sajudis election program, which, in the opinion of many people in the republic, creates a good basis for further national progress. This program has always suited the present opposition, although to some extent the faction does not fully share the views of the participants in the last Sajudis Congress, who were too ardent in their advocacy of a radical approach, rejection of opposition, and unconditional unity.

Most likely this faction will not weaken, as people believe, but will strengthen the positions of right-wingers. The National Progress faction's first step has been an appeal to Supreme Council Chairman V. Landsbergis, as the most realistic contender for the post of president of the republic: In view of the complex economic situation in Lithuania and the need for additional measures to improve it, start fulfilling the functions of president without waiting for elections. In the opinion of the new faction, Prime Minister G. Vagnorius should also be granted additional powers to implement the reform.

This will be sure to elicit protests from the opposition on the left. But the step has been taken.

Labor Party Resolution on Sejm, Elections

LD3101114792 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 9 Jan 92 p 2

["Resolution by the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party Council on the Development of the Constitutionality of the Lithuanian Republic"]

[Excerpts] 4 Jan, Vilnius—The developmental stage of our nation and of our state has begun, following Lithuania's return as a full member to the community of the world's nations. [passage omitted]

1. The establishment of a European parliamentary republic is most appropriate for the nation's historical experience. [passage omitted] We have restored Lithuania's statehood twice, but we have lost it through rule by an authoritarian president. Supreme Council deputies must respect the will of the constitutents who have voted for pre-election programs heralding a parliamentary republic.

2. A draft constitution of the Lithuanian Republic, consolidating the parliamentary rule of the state, must be prepared quickly and must be discussed in the Supreme Council and published in the press for approval by citizens. Proposals to revive the 1938 constitution are totally unacceptable, since they contradict the traditions of our nation's democracy and the will of the people, as expressed through the 9 February plebiscite. We are fashioning a new constitution—not for one day and not according to the whims of certain politicians—that is effective continously and for a long period of time. This must be approved by a citizens' referendum.

3. It is imperative to fulfill the promises made to the constitutents without delay, including adoption of a constitutional court law. Establishment of constitutional supervision under current provisional law conditions would aid in stabilizing the political situation, since it would control the suitability of the laws, government decrees, and provisional basic law in the process of being adopted. In the future, this would resolve contradictions between state authority institutions and would limit willful actions by authorities and attempts to violate universally recognized individual rights and freedoms.

4. Once the constitution of the Republic of Lithuania is adopted, the Supreme Council will have carried out its restorative mission, since elections for a constitutionally established Sejm may take place only at that time. Current proposals calling for the Supreme Council's dismissal, regardless of what motives they are based upon, are attempts to interrupt the establishment of democracy and to concentrate all authority in rightist hands. In proposing Sejm elections, according to the proportional system, we are striving to revive Lithuanian parliamentary democracy's traditions. Only in electing deputies according to political party and movement lists can a proportional representation in the Sejm of the political interests of all citizens be ensured. [passage omitted]

5. Only after the adoption of a Lithuanian Republic constitution will presidential elections be possible. In according priority status to the Sejm, we are coming out against an eastern-like presidential rule and against a leader with unlimited powers. We are for a president of a parliamentary republic, democratically elected by the entire nation's vote, whose rights and obligations would be clearly defined within the constitution. Executive power must be concentrated in the hands of a Sejm-elected prime minister and government. Current attempts by rightist radicals to accord far-reaching presidential powers to a preselected individual, by any means available, have nothing in common with democracy. The government crisis in Lithuania will be overcome by the renewal of political election institutions, rather than by establishment of autocratic institutes.

6. Currently, a coalition of all political forces and a government of great harmony are needed by Lithuania.

There can be no talk of a single party grouping and truth and infalibility of one national leader. Our state, which is undergoing restoration, needs the consent of all citizens, not a "strong-armed" stick.

Armed Communist Underground Reports False

OW3101171792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1501 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The fracas raised several months ago in Lithuania over the so called "armed communist underground" had been the "brainchild of big politicians". This is the conclusion reached by the weekly Mazoji Lietuva in an article reflecting on the events of November last year, when, after a series of incidents involving the military, high-ranking officials in the republic's Procuracy, Interior Ministry, and Security Department had said that an armed underground had been discovered in Lithuania. There were also reports that law-enforcement bodies had carried out numerous house searches and found weapons and anti-Lithuanian propaganda leaflets. The newspaper says however, that two investigators from Lithuania's General Procuracy are now claiming that the searches had been planned before the incidents and pursued the aim of checking the flats of former OMON [special purpose militia detachment] riot police officers, Communist Party Central Committee members and other persons implicated in the events in January 1991 in Vilnius. The investigators say that only one handgun had been seized and several hundreds of old pro-communist leaflets found during the crackdown. Likewise, nothing of particular importance was discovered during another 70 searches some time later.

Official on 'Critical' Economic Situation

LD0102220492 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Excerpts] A highly placed Lithuanian Government official who did not want to be named has said that in four months Lithuania will be facing the same economic situation that Estonia is facing today. So, is Lithuania threatened with the Estonian version? How many factories have closed or are on the brink of closing? Our correpondent posed this question to Vidmantas Jurevicius, director of the Economy and Industry Department of the Economics Ministry.

[Jurevicius] The most difficult position is at those enterprises which were formerly under Union jurisdiction and received all their raw materials from the Union, from

former Union republics. The situation is becoming critical in the elctro-technical industry. These enterprises depend on getting copper. The Panevezys Litkabelis supplies copper products—wire—to all enterprises of the electro-technical industry of the republic.

Because of its work stoppage, enterprises manufacturing electric motors, televisions, deflectors for televisions, and electric motors are now forced to stop. These issues are not being tackled, because agreement has not yet been reached at negotiations with Moscow as to how much copper we shall receive, at what prices, and how it should be done.

Our electro-technical industry employs about 50,000 people, and their fate now depends on the actions by the government as to how quickly this question will be solved. [passage omitted]

In the chemical industry, the most difficult position is at Plasta and the Kedainiai chemical fertilizer plant. It is only working at about 20 percent capacity. The work stoppage at machine-building enterprises is also connected with the fact that deliveries of metals and parts from Russia have stopped.

The system of quotas and licences [for exports] has been introduced in Russia, but it has not been spread to local organs, and it is virtually not operating. It has paralyzed, it can be said, the former supply system. [passage omitted]

We must decide with Russia as soon as possible how we will trade with it in the near future. But on the other hand, it must be said that the enterprises also must abandon the idea that someone will solve deliveries of raw materials and parts for them. Very much depends on them, on how the enterprises will seek alternative sources themselves. We should already be looking more to the West, because we feel on the other hand that this blockade, if it can be called that, is on the one hand a forced one from the position in Russia. [passage omitted]